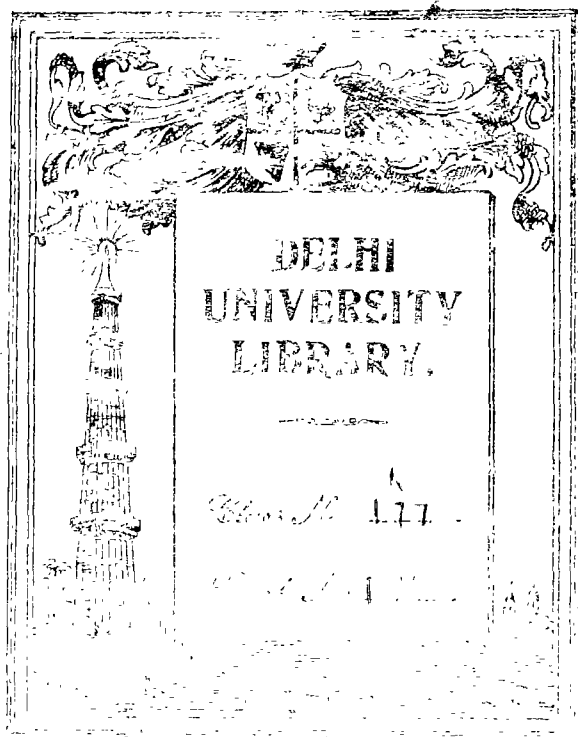


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IDEALISM IN NATIONAL CHARACTER

Idealism in National Character

ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES

By

Sir Robert Falconer

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**To
D. M. G.**

. PREFATORY NOTE

My only plea for publishing these essays and addresses, most of which have already appeared in print, is my conviction that at the present crisis too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the intellectual and spiritual qualities of our national life.

R. A. F.

March, 1920.

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I

THE EDUCATION OF NATIONAL CHARACTER.

THE doctrine that the State is a non-moral institution is dead. That was the theory of the Prussian professors. The war has killed it. If a state endeavours to compass only non-moral ends in a non-moral way the inevitable result will be that it will become immoral and its individual members will be corrupted. But this evil doctrine was not exclusively German. Men were found in our midst bold enough to argue that the State stands by itself in a position in which the distinctions of right and wrong do not apply; that expediency alone is to be taken into account, and when individuals enter its service or take part in political affairs they may let questions of conscience stand aside if need be. But that is not the principle of Democracy. We believe that the State consists of the individuals who compose it, and that a person's life is such a consistent unity that when he performs his duties to the State he can only fulfil them as a moral citizen. Of course he must act within the conditions which are given to him; factors exist; each person lives in a world of men and women who have their likes and dis-

likes, tendencies and prejudices, creeds and convictions, interests and hopes; and the action of the State, which must take these men and women into account, cannot be as simple as that of an individual who on occasion may do as he will. On occasion, I have said, because usually our individual action is hedged about and determined in such a way that we cannot do what we think to be ideal. Those who look on from outside unaware of all the factors internal and external for which we have to make allowance, often mete out blame to us for not proceeding with the vigour and decision that our critics think the situation demands. Undoubtedly we are often blameworthy, but unless we have omitted vital factors owing to culpable lack of mental or moral perception, or because we have not exercised the courage and will-power to make a decision which would result in uncomfortable results for us personally, criticism should not greatly disturb us. Allowing for delinquencies the important fact is that whenever we make a decision whether it be in domestic, business, or civic affairs we are acting morally. We are bound so to act. Without such a quality we are not normally human.

It is a mischievous fiction that men can be unselfish in the home and honest in business, but when they vote or act for the State they may be

dishonest or grasping. One reason for this delusion is that the State presents so many more uncontrollable factors than the family or business. In the home there are fewer wills to influence than in business; we are in direct touch with them, we know them, they know us, we feel the necessity of give and take; in fact the family has been constituted through personal affinities. In business we have less choice in our associates, yet we exercise a measure of direct influence upon those with whom we work. In the State, however, we have relations with a wider circle of men and women, with all sorts and conditions of people among whom we have been thrown without any choice of our own. Many of them look upon life from an entirely different point of view from ours, are of different or no religious belief, of different moral standards; indeed their sole bond of union with us is a common citizenship which may not involve common speech, common literature or common heritage of spiritual ideas. How is it possible that in such a state there should be common moral action? Because moral action does not consist in the conditions which are given. We are not moral because of the family into which we have been born except in so far as thereby a high moral ideal may have been set before us to follow. We are moral in so far as we endeavour to do right in

the special circumstances in which we find ourselves placed. Our attitude, our effort to fulfil our ideals, to perform well our functions in life is the chief factor in morality. The moral man acts kindly in his family, diligently and honestly in business, chooses such a view of public policy as he thinks is the best possible in the circumstances, and votes for such persons as his representatives as he believes will serve the community in the best way. Such a man always endeavours to do his duty in his family, his business, the State; and he is a moral person.

The policies of States are determined largely by the moral quality of their citizens. There is national character according to which a nation acts, and in which sudden changes are not to be expected.

A French colonel wrote in his memorandum book which has been recently published: "The Anglo-Saxon is intoxicated with whiskey; the Russian with vodka; the German with ideas; the Latin with words. I do not know which is the most toxic". To-day, however, it cannot be said that the Anglo-Saxon Canadian gets intoxicated with whiskey, and just as certainly he does not get intoxicated with words or ideas. We are a matter-of-fact people who work out our fortunes in an experimental way, without framing for ourselves many hypotheses which we consciously verify. We

act on a rather intelligent instinct; our emotions do not lie on the surface; what we are is the result of a long process of education of the will rather than of the intellect; a few simple but powerful convictions have laid hold upon the people. It is the quality of these convictions that gives us our individuality and constitutes the essence of our national character.

Where there is strong national character there will be strong loyalty. There is a cheap loyalty and a superficial patriotism which have made the words suspect to many, because they are so often in the mouths of people who wish to trade with them to their own advantage, and who come perilously near adopting the evil slogan My country right or wrong. But genuine loyalty is an attribute of true citizenship. Though the flag does not always guarantee its worth, it may be used as its illustration as well as its symbol. On a calm day the flag hangs limp and its colours are not to be distinguished, but when the breezes blow it streams forth bravely on the wind and every one can tell its significance. As the flag on the pole veers round the pole flying now north-east and again south-west according to the wind and showing its colours and meaning from whatever quarter the breeze comes, so in steadfastness of purpose loyalty adheres to its principles whatever be the

direction or strength of popular or world commotion. If pure it is almost synonymous with a sense of duty and with conscientiousness in action as distinguished from mere opportunism. In narrow-minded people it may become a nuisance, as conscientiousness without good judgment produces stubbornness or bigotry. But if a man possesses and acts upon honest judgment unmixed with self-interest and willfulness, the community may pardon him his stubbornness, for one of its greatest assets is character so steeled that it will not break in the strains of life. Most loyal people, moreover, have limitless possibilities; they improve vastly under education, and with the development of intelligence and the conscientious exercise of judgment, while their steadfastness does not decrease, they learn to yield without needless resistance.

Unfortunately their very strength of character often sets loyal men in opposition to one another, but it is their natural temperaments that are the cause, not their abundance or lack of loyalty. Some tend by nature to look backwards, and make it their purpose in life to maintain and develop the virtues which have adorned the annals of former generations; their hope for the race is a stable continuance of what has been with very moderate change; they are sceptical of radical movements;

they fear revolution. Others equally loyal have their hand ever to the eye on the outlook for a new age; they see strongly and clearly the wrongs and evils of the past and make it their purpose to escape from them and to take others with them into the new world, which, however, is never fully realized. Of these two temperaments the former is always lauding the good old days and the virtues of the past which he thinks are disappearing from the present generation; the latter finds fault with the average dull folk, hesitant and without courage for change, who have no spark of the ideal. Those who only admire what goes down into the past think of ancient beliefs, systems and customs as having given shade to multitudes, like gnarled oaks that have weathered hundreds of winters and summers and have seen generations of softer woods spring up and decay beside them in the forest. Those who look only to the future have the word Reforestation constantly on their lips. They would clean out every vestige of rubbish from under the trees and turn the forest into a park or cut it into lumber for use, sparing not even the oaks themselves however ancient. Such folk are energetic, and on rare occasions the extreme conservative may admit that the energy spent in clearing the underbrush prevents fire from spreading, though he will maintain that for once that the woods have

been endangered by fire they suffer ten times from the radical's vigorous axe.

I can think of two highly honourable men, both extremists, both as fixed as possible in their ideas, both willing to go out with a sword if need be and die for their vindication, and each certain to be ranged against the other in such a battle. For the one the inherited social, political, and religious order is everything. His life depends upon its maintenance with as little change as possible. For the other certain abstract theories not yet realized are the voice of God. They are to him a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night to lead him to a promised land, which, however, he will never enter. It is unfortunate that these two cannot live amicably together in the same community and complement one another. There should be a place for both extremists for they are men of deep convictions and of strong character, but they are too suspicious each of the loyalty of the other. Each will probably, on compulsion, admit a measure of honesty in his opponent. I say advisedly "on compulsion" and "a measure of honesty", for each has a fundamental distrust of the other, believing that he is not absolutely candid and that his mind is closed to some truth. The other man's opinions in themselves do not appear nearly so dangerous if the man who holds them is transparently honest,

is susceptible to suggestions of truth, and may by education be converted from the error of his ways. So we come back to this, that even in the case of extremists it is not opinions but character that turns the scale, and that quality of mind which is patient of correction.

Unfortunately, however, conscientiousness is often adulterated with self-will or refined self-interest, and these elements are so invisible to their possessor that he believes that what he wants is right. Self-regard so prevents men from changing their opinions, that in practical affairs we endeavour to get those whose support we wish committed publicly to a course, for only the few unusually open-minded and thoroughly honest men are not slaves to self-consistency. "Others be carryed either by the custome of their countrie, or by the institution of their parents, or by chance, as by a tempest, without choyce or judgment, yea sometimes before the age of discretion, to such or such another opinion, to the Stoike or Epicurian Sect, to which they finde themselves more engaged, subjected or fast tyed, as to a prize they cannot let goe".* Self-regard is a multiform and subtle element in human nature; one exhibits it in material pleasures and what stimulates the outward sense; another in the refinements that appeal to a more

*Montaigne *Essays*, II, 205.

delicate constitution; another in the sense of power and in being able to bend men to one's own will; others in securing vogue for their own ideas and theories in politics, religion, philosophy, science or art. In itself this quality is not evil. It only becomes so when by undue exercise it over-rides the interests of others and thus interferes with the well-being of society, degenerating into the vice of selfishness which when in control produces dishonesty of mind and character. Therefore it is a supreme function of education to train the youth to exercise control in self-regard.

The dangers which most constantly disturb human society arise in the main not from abstract theories which loyal men accept as their creed, but from the self-interests of men which are bound up with their political platform, religious doctrine, economic or social theory; whence come irritations of groups, repulsions in churches, bitterness in politics, class strife, even civil war.

History affords many examples of the corrupting influence of self-interest as it reacts upon national principle. Take as one of the most impressive instances the case of the creed of the Old South before the American Civil War. Students of the origins of that war realize that it had long been inevitable. At the time of the creation of the American Constitution slavery though tolerated

was expected to be obliterated gradually. Washington and Jefferson both believed that it was an evil system inconsistent with the principles of the Declaration of Independence. But the economic development of the Southern States made the domestic breeding of slaves and their importation such an exceedingly profitable business, that men changed their opinions and came to hold that slavery was an essential factor in their social order. Civil war became inevitable when a wrong thing was given moral justification. No more passionate champions of the system were to be found than in the pulpits. Self-interest corrupted the mind of the people. The North professed that they were fighting a theory of State rights, but in reality they were fighting men of blinded intellect, who, therefore, although they displayed the virtues of cultivated gentlemen, had grown impervious to education by discussion out of an evil theory; thus war was the ultimate and only argument. But this awful ordeal of war became the process by which a new national virtue was acquired. Never again will slavery be tolerated among civilized white people. A process of education by war, however, is so costly that it is the bounden duty of a nation to guard carefully the minds of its youth lest principle be corrupted by self-interest, and the standards to which their loyalty is to be affixed

disintegrate by reason of exclusively self-regarding policies.

The important question we have to ask ourselves is how are nations educated into the standards of virtue which give us our individuality? What is the process by which character is formed? Many factors enter into this process. There is the gradual growth through silent circumstances and established institutions such as the Church and the School which cause peoples either to develop or to deteriorate. The range of old virtues is slowly widened, their meaning understood here a little, there a little, and new virtues are by degrees incorporated into the national conscience. Our finer virtues have often appeared at first like delicate flowers upon the cold spring ground, and persisting in their peril and adventure through ungenial winds have grown more hardy and beautiful as spring has passed into summer. After centuries it may be of ripening experience or by severe ordeals of suffering, they become the heritage of a people who almost by intuition display those virtues which they have made their own.

Another factor is the influence of the nation's heroic men. Great personalities in the background of a people's life, and the heroes whose examples have become the inspiration of succeeding generations fashion the character of the people in whose

life they find an immortality. Little do we realize how intense were the lonely agonies of brave souls as they wrestled through their dark night with a beneficent but unknown antagonist for some blessing for the coming race; yet out of these agonies has come our character. And it cannot but be that the heroism of our soldiers and our people during the past five years will leave its impress upon the plastic mind of the youth of the future.

There is further the education set rapidly into effect by convulsions in the national life, such as that we have just suffered in the awful war. No people can have had such an experience without having undergone a change in character. Never was a war fought in which principles were so clearly set forth and in which an appeal to idealism was so strongly made as to the nations which joined in repelling the German attack. The finest youth of our countries rallied to the call to arms. We were fighting a system, but we were also fighting men who embodied a system which had made them hateful to our Western civilization. The Prussian military class had willed that their autocratic regime should be imposed upon the world. Already they had by persuasion or force imbued the German people with the conviction that it would be to their self-interest if the system which had glorified the Fatherland were made universal. We now know

that there was the greatest possible danger that their ambitions might have come true. Had they been successful the culminating tragedy would not have been the defeat of the allies, but the triumph for a season upon the earth of the system which would have made the victory possible. It was expressed in the word *Kultur*. But the virtues of *Kultur* were not ours. It contained a view of the State that to us was deadly, and which in Germany had perverted a highly educated and industrious people. Never had an evil theory been more forcefully exploited. Germany had gone into spiritual captivity to a Babylonish system, and there was no remnant of a Chosen People left to protest and cry out for a Deliverer. This fact was significant as to the danger which threatened the rest of the world. Human nature worships success, and victory for German *Kultur* would have given it such prestige that large sections of the world would have gone a-whoring after it, and for generations the spiritual emancipation of mankind would have been retarded. A chilling ice-age of materialism would have crept over the earth crushing every vestige of belief in the State as a moral institution which thrives on virtue. The struggle was, as Lord Robert Cecil recently said, "a great fight between idealism and realism—and idealism won as it will always do". The lamp of national

conscience has been trimmed and relit, the mirror polished and from now on the particular beacon that guards this reef will keep flashing out clearly across the treacherous approaches to the harbour of national security.

Idealism is the belief that moral forces are finally dominant; that law is not a convention or pact that may be broken for the sake of interest; that it does not draw its sanction from any legislature, class in society, or autocrat, but is the antecedent condition of life on which society domestic, national or international must rest. By law we do not mean particular laws which change, but the permanent moral relationship which holds mankind together. Recognition of Law, and the endeavour to order one's own life and that of society and the State in accordance with it, is Righteousness. The opportunity to live a righteous life is Liberty. This victory, therefore, has been at once an expansion and a vindication of Liberty. Men and peoples henceforth will have more freedom to act as they think right because to-day the nations that adopted a moral purpose are more powerful than those that regulated themselves upon the idea of Force.

The story of Freedom's origin is very ancient, but the final chapter will not be written for many generations. In fact we often ask ourselves

whether we understand in essence what Freedom is, so many are the restraints that we place upon it, so often do the emancipated in their turn display tyrannies as vicious as those from which they suffered, and so seldom are those who call themselves freemen willing to accept limitations to their desires in order that society may prosper. We believe that the methods and restrictions of the Teutonic State, whose system has just been overthrown, were obstacles to the larger freedom; but after our loud-voiced professions we must see to it that our liberty is more than nominal. It is not yet safe to commit to the judgment of a great city the fate and reputation of a suspect where toleration is needed for a just award. We do not yet draw with a sure hand the line where the authority of the State should cease and the liberty of the individual begin. Nevertheless the fact remains that in the war we were actuated by high purpose for the maintenance of human liberty and that we have been educated into a fuller comprehension of that virtue.

After these five years of agony we might have hoped for a period of rest; we might have expected to enjoy the fruits of our expanding freedom. But just at this moment it seems that Force is lifting its head in a new and not less terrible shape. As Prussia was the home of the doctrine that the

state is based on force, so from Prussia has come the theory of Karl Marx that by a new force society is to be regenerated, and it has found disastrous illustration in Bolshevism. The doctrine is preached that the proletariat is to be Dictator and that the dreams of the manual toilers, or of a section of them, are to be realized by force, because only by a perpetual class struggle can society as now organized be reconstituted.

We have borne to us upon every wind rumours, and verified reports as bad as the rumours, of the hideous reality of this theory. Accustomed as we have been to liberty we are not likely to know much of its horror, especially as we are not prone to be intoxicated with abstract ideas or with words; nor will our people like a dreamy dog throw away the bone for the shadow. But in the many cross currents and gusts of passion that are making an angry sea for society, we need good seamanship on the part of leaders and cool heads among the people if we are to escape damage.

Sore disappointment rankles in the hearts of many who have fought for freedom only to find themselves fastened into an industrial system in which they have little or no recognition of the dignity of their function and receive a small return from the proceeds of their toil. These grievances, many of them very real, had been felt long before

the war, but now they have got outlet. Uncertain employment, small wages and the spectre of Want on the one hand, with vast wealth displayed in luxurious and wanton expenditure on the other, make a diseased condition of society for which liberty-loving and intelligent people must devise some remedy. Extremists among the manual toilers have got a taste of the fascination of power, and are pressing for drastic measures such as the dethronement of the rich employer and director who, in their judgment, arrogantly used their influence for their own selfish interests. They do not believe that the country will be ruined; only capitalists will be brought low. They have an optimistic hope that somehow all will go well for them when the State regulates everything in the interests of the average man who is the hand-worker.

Just at present of course there is a reaction from the war. The strain has been severe. Men are tired. Wages were high, and in France and Britain, and in some degree among us, people do not want to work. But soon these conditions will pass and shall we not, out of our present unrest, win some virtue that will quicken our health just as we have through the war? Thus will national character develop once more by surmounting a crisis. One gain to be hoped for is that men will

learn anew to take pride in their work; to believe that work is a moral function upon the conscientious performance of which society depends. But society itself, if manual labour is essential to its salvation, must dignify it by educating the toiler that he may be worthy of a nobler function, and by assigning him both a larger influence in the organization of industry and a better return for the value of his labour. In reality the hand-worker must become a worthier freeman.

The world has been delivered from one disaster; shall it not now be kept free from class hatred and the reign of the new Demon of Force? To effect this both rich and poor, hand-workers and employers, must get a new conception of the meaning of liberty. Liberty is a gift which can only be realized in a regulated universe and an ordered society. If the blasts of class hatred blow upon it it will wilt and anarchy or tyranny will take its place. Therefore it is incumbent upon us to do our utmost that the outcome of this unrest shall be the creation of a new conviction as to the necessity for social justice, of a stronger instinct as it were for liberty. The issue of our two trying experiences in war and social upheaval must surely be an addition to our national character in the way of a profounder recognition of the sway of law and righteousness, and following on that a deeper

appreciation of liberty, which will manifest itself in a more genuine social justice, when the responsibilities of wealth as regards its acquisition and use, and the duty and dignity of honest labour have been accepted by the individual and regulated by society.

There is to be considered the function of Education in its stricter sense. Like all our other activities it must conduct its work in the new conditions which have been under review. Parents and elder brothers have been going through a hard school, as we have just seen, national character has been in process of development, and we hope that a new outlook and new virtues are being added to our inheritance. It is on this new foundation that the youth must be educated for a new age. Undoubtedly the duty of the teacher will be a difficult one. A writer in a leading English review says: "Is it not true of England to-day that all secret restraints are breaking up, and that a general delirium is carrying a license into all ranks? We have suddenly awakened from a dream of comfort and security to find that all restraints have crumbled away spontaneously. What else is the meaning of all these strikes on every side? Upon examination we think it will be found that all peaceful and civilized societies have been supported by two pillars or buttresses, spiritual authority and

the sentiment of deference for the possessors of property or education or rank, hereditary or official. Both these pillars have suddenly been pulled away". This writer is pessimistic and gives no remedy for the disease as he diagnoses the case. Like many others he would probably say that since the Church has lost its authority, the School should endeavour to instil into the minds of the children a docile temper and a readiness to accept without questioning the present situation, or rather our transmitted creeds. If the rising generation is indoctrinated with correct ideas we shall be more secure, such an one doubtless thinks, against disturbance or revolution. Now, of course, there is a measure of truth in this, but it is a futile expedient against instability. In any case the youth, if well educated, will when they come to maturity act, as a rule, in conformity with national character, which, as we have seen, is the product of much more than the teaching of the school. But the supposed view is in fact not consistent with the highest morality or genuine education. Education is not a matter of Thou shalt or thou shalt not, but of enlightening the pupil so that he may be guided by principle. The good teacher is distinguished by the capacity to make the pupil see through the details of arithmetic, language, or science to their principles, and so to fashion his mind into the

conviction that there is a regular order in which things work. So will the scholar get an inkling into the prevalence of law, and by undergoing the discipline which is necessary for the comprehension of his task he will acquire some measure of self-control. To teach thus is to humanize knowledge; to impart nothing but detail is to miss its highest function. I do not mean that language or science is to be taught primarily so as to inculcate morals. That would be bad teaching and would in the end be ruinous. But the accurate and sincere teaching of the various disciplines, by those who themselves embody in thought and bearing a reverent regard for law and principle, will raise the intelligence of the pupils and result in general stability. Men and women who think for themselves make the best members of our democracies, for they may be trusted to act according to our national character and they will adopt a reasonable attitude towards life. This reasonable attitude itself will often mean that their ideas must change, but in the inevitable change good will be sifted from bad, beneficent from injurious by the constant public discussion in church, platform and press. A well educated community, that is one with a disciplined intelligence, will be ready to take part in the new forum without serious disturbance.

There is a Scriptural injunction, Teach healthy

doctrine. But is this not one of the most difficult precepts to fulfil? What of the controversies as to instruction in religion and morals? What about dogma on the one hand and "bare" morals on the other? Into these controversies I do not intend to enter, but in a very real sense the precept still holds in education. We are learning that it is the duty of Democracy to become increasingly competent in understanding the main principles of public and private morality, to which point has been given by the fact that we have been plunged into this awful world-distress because civilized peoples did not accept a healthy order of society as their standard of life. Violation of Law always brings retribution, which is all the more tragic because the punishment of society is not by any means due in most cases to conscious transgression by the authors of the wrong, nor does it fall upon them. It is likely to be the result of an inherited system, or of unrealized evil, as in the case of Oedipus, which wreaks deadly injury upon the innocent. It is, therefore, one of the primary duties of the intelligent leaders of our communities to make earnest investigation into what constitutes healthy morals for the people. We know much more to-day than our fathers did about the laws of external nature, health, psychology, economics, sociology, government. Ignorance of these laws

will, as time goes on, be more and more counted unto us for unrighteousness. We should not allow the inexperience or ignorance of teacher or preacher to be forced upon the people as inspired Gospel.

Notwithstanding all that has been said as to the non-moral results of science as illustrated by the war, it cannot be denied that the methods and conquests of science have led us to the very threshold of morality. Even the regulations due to hygiene, preventive medicine, and social science are rapidly improving the living conditions of rich and poor, and if people live in healthy and moral surroundings they will escape many of the temptations that result from impaired powers of physical resistance.

But morality is not satisfied with obedience to natural law merely. Those who teach should know healthy doctrine in the broad sense, and should understand that morals, public and private, have not been revealed once for all from Heaven in compendious statutes, but are being constantly defined and clarified by the hard experience of humanity. The moral law that has fashioned our national character is embodied in our literature, history and political institutions, and the education of our children is not complete unless they have some comprehension of this heritage. In our literature especially are recorded the imperishable

moral conquests of our past, and fortunately for us the Bible in our English translation is our greatest popular classic. It is a national book and should be made so more and more, for no other literature so dignifies man, so inspires universal principles of human conduct, and so securely establishes the foundations for liberty and progress. Some of its direct precepts have become antiquated, it is true, as was inevitable in the growth of a people into a spiritual view of conduct; but in the New Testament a perfect life governed by few and very simple though very profound principles is incarnated, illustrated, and made the example which has inspired the best in our Western civilization.

It has been previously said that the youth, if well educated, will, when they come to maturity, act in conformity with national character, but it cannot be forgotten that this remark applies to a homogeneous and stable people. Where, however, there is a large influx of different nationalities the problem of maintaining as well as of creating a definite national character is all important. In this new world, especially in the large cities, but also in many rural sections, there are masses of people of various nationalities living together so that they retain their imported characteristics and are not being merged into our life with the quality which is, as we believe, so essential to our well-

being. The assimilation of these newcomers so that they may preserve the best of their inherited characteristics and yet become a strength to us in their new home is an acute problem. Instead of being blocks of irreducible stone they will, it is hoped, under the influence of the atmosphere and forces of society, be disintegrated and add fresh elements to enrich the soil.

To effect this the process is twofold. There is the silent influence of the circumambient society which on this new continent is very powerful. Already the Canadian people possess a marked individuality which has done wonders with a new and vast land, and the West, full of vigour, displays unmistakably the originality of the Canadian type which is all its own and takes control of all other elements that are introduced into the country. The play upon the newcomer of the views of life and the moral convictions of the older and larger body of the earlier possessors of the land, must in time melt away the sharp edges of newer imported national characteristics, though at the same time those who are being refashioned also react upon and temper the mind of the majority.

But this silent influence is not sufficient for the production of a unified character that may rightly be called national. Definite ideals have to be taught to the children in the schools. The rapid

growth of this new world makes this necessity extremely urgent. Therefore what has just been remarked in regard to the teaching in the schools of the ascertained body of moral truth and of the spiritual traditions of our people, will become even more important to put into practice as immigration increases in the future. Incoming peoples should as far as possible be educated along with children of older Canadians. If different nationalities can be brought together in our institutions with those who have been here before and with all grades of society, the school will become a power for the creation of the finest quality of national character.

We must lose no opportunity to educate our people together into a community spirit beginning with the children, teaching them that they constitute one body and have reciprocal duties to one another. A democracy cannot educate by classes. The State has a duty to the whole people to instil into them as far as possible a sense of the unity of society, and to offer the most intelligent wherever found a chance to secure the highest training of which they are capable. So will Democracy get safe leaders. And unless Democracy is willing to provide for itself the most intelligent leadership, it will fall under the tyranny of designing men who will surely filch from it its liberty, and take away the gains that we have won at such awful cost. |

Not the least of the unifying influences upon the life of the people is the University. It is a living organism, not merely buildings, laboratories, grounds, not even the staff. All these are elements, but it is far more; it consists of the students who attend it, that inflowing life which constantly renews itself, ever assimilating afresh the old truths, ever thrashing out again the old problems and investigating the new ones, ever learning by word of mouth, personal contact and book more of life and human nature, ever full of optimism that it will master its world—that world so ancient which has outlived every generation of equally optimistic youth who in its day faced it with like courage and hope. In this society which we call the university one of the most fundamental virtues to be acquired is the necessity to play fair with one another, to give one's fellows their due, to take one's share of work and to respect one's comrades for their worth from whatever station they come, until they show themselves undeserving of respect, and fortunately that is not often. In the university the truth must be learned well and inwardly digested that where the order of things is controlled by reason, wisdom and human kindness society is healthy. Educated men and women who have had the privilege of the higher academic training have lost the best that it has to give unless this humane spirit has taken

possession of them. But if they have caught the inspiration of a noble university society they will carry with them in their lives, as in epistles known and read of all men, this truth of human comradeship, of which the distracted world without is at present in such dire need.

Very suddenly at the close of the war we have realized that the imagination of our English-speaking peoples has been captured by the worth of education. The schools are filled to overflowing, colleges and universities beyond all precedent or expectation. Many, of course, are returned soldiers eager to make up for lost time, but most are just from school. The air is vibrant with aspiration. Now that the clouds of war have drifted away men's faces are set to scale, whether by well-beaten or newly descried paths, the heights beyond which lies their hope of a new world to be occupied. It cannot be that this hope will prove to be a mere dream. This new and dauntless multitude will not cease to explore until they discover a region more fertile than ours in which to make a home for their generation.

But what of those who are to guide them? At such a time as this those who teach whether in school, college, university or pulpit, have almost unparalleled responsibility placed upon them, because unless the regulative ideas that give worth and

satisfaction to life are clearly comprehended by them, confusion will be more widespread. Not a little of the unrest of the present is due to crude and irresponsible utterances as well as half thought out views of religion, morals, economics and government on the part of those who are listened to as teachers, preachers and public men. Fortunately for us the common-sense which is so strong an element in our national character comes to our rescue and prevents us from being captivated over any length of time by spurious idealism. But half truths do damage until they are dispelled by completer truth, often indeed irreparable damage to a generation. True guides qualified to shape the character of the thronging multitudes who are standing on the threshold of this new age, must be capable to distinguish between mere knowledge and knowledge of what is worth knowing, and between knowledge and intelligence. They must discriminate between things that differ, between even right thought and the idealism which turns it into reality, and must seek to cultivate in themselves and those whom they lead a mind in which knowledge, thought and idealism blend in right proportion.

II THE CONFLICT OF EDUCATIONAL IDEAS ARISING OUT OF THE WAR.

A FAVOURITE occupation in educational circles during times of peace has been to hoe up the seeds of planted theories in order to investigate their growth. Frequently it was a harmless pastime because the theories would only have cumbered the ground if they grew. But since the war under the impulse of a new earnestness many radical activities have been afoot. Signs are not wanting that some would dig up the whole national field and plant fresh seed in the hope of producing a fine crop of "efficiency". Others fearing that this new seed has been imported from Germany proclaim their complete satisfaction with their own garden, and will not pluck even the weeds lest they pull out some good fruit along with them. Elsewhere in the field humanists and scientists are to be seen standing on their garden patches, shaking their hoes at one another and boasting of the superior value of their own vegetables as to food values or tastefulness, the ignorant public all the while being contented with pretty coarse fare provided they get enough of it. It may be affirmed with a good deal of confidence that as

a result of the war average English-speaking people do not want a change of food; they are satisfied with what has been grown in our gardens. But those who think do want a better quality and a much higher yield. They do not ask for a garden full of imported vegetables, but earnestly hope for finer production in ground enriched and kept free from weeds.

Great variety of opinion has prevailed as to what the aims of education should be; and as is natural each nation has believed that what it has worked out for itself is best for its own needs. But the war has forced us to reconsider many accepted opinions. Our ideals in religious, ethical, political, social and economic matters have often been inconsistent. The paths before us crossed and recrossed. Not infrequently we had lost clear direction. Emergent interests suddenly appeared like baffling tracks to lead us off from the broader principles. But the artillery of war has shot the woods away, and though our desolation and the loss of our best is appalling, and smoke still hangs about those of us who are left, we can by day see certain main roads leading in the right direction, and by night we can get a glimpse of primal virtues that shine aloft like stars. We shall hereafter have much clearer convictions than formerly, even though the change is not yet very evident. Surely we shall

never need to ask again whether government can be based on force alone. Surely the majesty of law is already rehabilitated in part. Surely we now know that progress is rooted in righteousness. Surely we are convinced that the success of education is to be measured by the clarity with which we grasp the fact that life is set in a kingdom of law and order.

It will, however, serve our purpose to review even at the cost of repeating much that has now grown commonplace, the national ideas of Germany, France and Britain, more particularly with the object of reaching some conclusions as to their bearing upon our own standards in education.

There is no difficulty in discovering what Germany sought from her education during the period in which the Empire was being constructed. Much has been published upon the subject, but two books written by men belonging to widely separated social strata stand out, and when they agree, they may well be taken as setting forth the aims and standards of the German people. The first of these is *Imperial Germany*, by Prinz von Bülow, rewritten and greatly enlarged in May, 1916, and the second is *Central Europe*, by Naumann, published in 1915. Little need be said of such a well-known person as Bülow. He is a Prussian Junker, arrogant, of course, but polished by his sojourn in society more

refined than that of his own country. The book itself is unidealistic, sombre, almost demonic in its belief in ruthless force as the conserving element in a state. Bülow is a great pagan intellectualized and efficient, without hope for a different future and content to accept the present which Prussia has created, the work for the most part of his hero Bismarck, and to dispense with righteousness in the politics of a world in which "ability is the only thing that tells". He grimly prides himself upon the fact that "the stony path of Prussia's continental policy is marked by blood and iron, and over every decisive success the standards of the Prussian army flutter".

Naumann was a Lutheran pastor, and became interested in social questions, travelled widely in Central Europe, knows what ordinary people are thinking about, sympathizes with them, and was a member of the Reichstag. His book, so Professor Ashley tells us in his introduction, has had great vogue in Germany and may be taken as giving utterance to views widely held before the war. Its theme is that after the war Mid-Europe should, under the hegemony of Germany, form one of the units of world-power along the British Empire, Russia and the United States. That the accomplishment of the task is supremely difficult Naumann readily admits, but he faces it boldly.

According to both these books a ruling idea of the German people is found in the word "militarism". In the new edition Bülow has added two chapters which he entitles "The Beginnings of Militarism" and "Militarism as a Cohesive Force". In these chapters he glories in what to the allies has from the outset appeared to be the shame of Prussia. "The German nation can assert before the whole world that its greatest strength, which has stood the test of the past and of the present, is to be found in that which in the hour of direst need and danger saved the life of Germany: German militarism". The reason why this militarism saved the nation is because it is a spirit, a discipline, a habit of mind which, above everything else, has entered into the body of the German people and recreated it according to the type and pattern of the Prussian army. "More by means of the army than by means of the constitution or of civil and common law do the State and the nation in Germany achieve unity". How different is this from Britain where the sovereignty of law is supreme and the freedom of parliamentary government unifies the country at home and is a bond of unity throughout the Empire. Germany has been made one in all its parts by another tie which has never been laid on Britain; "The nation in the King's uniform preserved the conception of the

state, its national consciousness in its purest form, untouched by political considerations. Time has been unable to alter this in the smallest respect. The world-war shows us the whole of that portion of the people which is capable of bearing arms completely filled with that idealism that is the spirit of the Prussian army". "The voice of our national conscience tells us what German militarism really is: the best thing we have achieved in the course of our national development as a State and as a people".

These extravagant professions of faith find an echo in Naumann: "We conquer less through individuals than through the disciplined feeling for combined difficult work. This intrinsic connection between the work of war and peace called by our enemies 'German militarism' we regard as reasonable, for Prussian military discipline influences us all in actual fact from the captain of industry to the maker of earthworks. The war has proved that the national genius was and is a reality: we are a single unit".

Not long since another penetrating analysis of the German ideals was published by a Swiss, Professor Millioud of Lausanne.* He is of opinion that the dominant caste which has impressed the

**La Caste dominante allemande—Sa Formation—Son Rôle* par Maurice Millioud, Lausanne, 1915.

mind of the people and has moulded the character of modern Germany was composed not only of the aristocratic Junker but also of the plutocratic industrialist; indeed that militarism was put at the service of capitalistic ambition and together they created the German imperialism which aimed at the conquest of the world. The war spirit invaded and controlled the commercial domain and neglected no means to accomplish its purpose—the banking system, co-ordination of wealth, concentration of capital, bounties, dumping. “Unlike other countries Germany was organized with a view to dominate, to seize raw material, to produce and to sell—all the industrial, commercial and financial organization so interwoven is calculated for the conquest of the foreign market”. Naumann takes virtually the same view. “A careful investigation into the causes of the great war will reveal when English and German antagonism is examined, the fundamental difference between the two distinct basal forms of capitalistic humanity—the German being disciplined, normal...impersonal capitalism”. These writers also agree that under this influence a ruthless warlike spirit had taken hold upon the people at large and they had organized industry with an imperial purpose. The doctrine of “Stateism” was regnant, the “Kulturstaat” being the product of the view that “a state

not built up around a skeleton of militarism does not exist". It is a fact of the first importance that all sections of the people, even the socialists, had accepted this idea. The State demanded the obedience of each individual and whatever it enjoined became his duty. Public morality was little more than the obligation of the individual to the State which regulated his conduct and assured the progress of civilization. "The German people lives, breathes and moves in a 'Stateism' not only political and social but pedagogic, moral, religious. It has become their second nature".

Militarism is thus both a method and a spirit, an organization and a view of life. It is really an aggressive temper directing a highly compacted organism, the creation of a strong people who, as Bülow says, learned from childhood "the main outlines of their country's history as a history of war, the history of the gains achieved by victorious campaigns and of the stern and bitter consequences of lost battles. Therein lies the difference between the history of Prussia and that of all modern States". But this was the real source of its danger to the world. Behind it lay hidden the conviction that the modern world is moved by balancing forces which can be only held in check by a counter force, and that war is the natural condition of the human race. International law, public morality,

peaceful intercourse are light in the balance when the selfish interests of nations weighted by the mailed fist press down the other scale.

How did this perverted state of mind originate? To secure this forceful supremacy all the human and material resources of the Empire had been organized. Science had become a superb instrument for this purpose. All that it could do in schools, technical institutes, universities under rigid direction was done to render the people at once efficient and aggressive. The State was even socialized. For the same end the masses were graded up with no small measure of success towards the elimination of waste in human material, and the effectiveness of the government became a source of pride to the people. Their complete educational system in its twofold departments of the school and the barracks, where the youth were drilled into being not primarily men but Germans, had been directed to the production of this German State. On the creation of this temper hear Bülow: "Working-power, organization and method are the mighty corner-stones of the gigantic edifice of German economic life, three truly German qualifications which no one possesses in such a high degree, for they are due to the personal sense of duty, so much more developed amongst us than elsewhere, to specifically German conscientiousness,

to German thoroughness and to the scientific education of the German"; or Naumann: "Into everything there enters less of the lucky spirit of invention than of patient educated industry; we believe in combined work—the most practicable, safe and durable human machinery".

The Junker-capitalists have had their reward. Their Kulturstaat was marvellously organized; it was penetrated by the war-spirit, morality did not soften force nor right control might, and in action it displayed frightfulness of set purpose. What reward have they received? We know the world-judgment; even Bülow is content to admit that "the educated classes of Paris and London feel a mixture of pity, fear, respect and aversion towards the German type", and Naumann may speak for their allies: "The Austrian regards the Prussian system as a strange machine, whose efficiency is not to be denied, but whose noise and mechanical accuracy make him shudder".

What else have they reaped? Their system was over-wrought, their industry over-developed and Germany was faced with economic disaster unless she could seize upon new wealth. National necessity knew no law. She would proceed to extort larger fields from the world. Her militarism which had created her spirit of economic conquest was ready to compass by bloody warfare what she

was on the verge of failing to do in commerce. Here surely she would succeed. Organization and preparedness would guarantee her victory if only she struck swiftly and hard. But she did not know how virile France was, nor did she count upon England. France on the Marne, at Verdun and on the Somme proved that she could beat Germany at her own game. She has greater military genius than the most highly organized military power of Europe which for two generations had claimed the primacy in this form of human effort and around it had built its whole life. Naumann says, "Militarism is the foundation of all order in the State and of all prosperity in the Society of Europe". If so the victory of the allies has proved that the educational system of Prussia was a ghastly failure.

In France we find a people whose history is far more ancient than that of Germany. It presents the dignity of a character unified by long and manifold experience. The people have been rooted in a soil which they love, and from this country of peasants springs the Poilu who has established for himself a supreme reputation as a soldier, valorous, intelligent, responsive to indications for strategy or attack.

France and Germany stand in direct contrast to each other both in their view of the State and of education. The France of to-day is not the

creation of a group of masterful men nor of a generation of efficient persons, nor of a dominant caste like the Prussian Junkers, supported by a special philosophic theory of the State. Though of diverse racial origins the French people have become one not in response to any ideal or manufactured conception of national unity, but through a long history of storm and sunshine in a well-defined geographical area. They love *la belle France*, a land enriched by fine traditions, their home, where their fathers dwelt, to which they cling with a profoundly human patriotism. Their love of France itself gives concreteness to their relation to their country. It is not to the State as such that they yield obedience, nor are they swayed by an imposing imperial idea, but they live and die for France, the home of their race which time and again through her history has suffered for mistakes, recovered rapidly, but always followed some richly human idea which glowed before her as a pillar of cloud even when it led her to cross rivers of blood. They believe that the laws of France are not for her alone but embody truth for the world as well, and she proclaims liberty, fraternity and equality as the rights of humanity itself. The Frenchman therefore obeys his government not as through an order imposed upon him from above, but out of a sense of duty towards human society in which he

has a share both as a patriot and as a man with a moral sense.

French writers agree that one of the outstanding features of the French mind is its intelligence, clear, measured and always in touch with reality. In a very true sense the French are too intelligent to talk as the Germans do, and their delicate raillery practised against pretension by every class of the people would prick the bombast of a Kaiser amid peals of laughter. Rapid though their political changes are, the people are restrained by commonsense from going over the precipice. A glimpse of reality recalls them.

Partly the result of the clear intelligence and broad sympathy of the French mind is the character of the education of the country. Unlike Germany France has not run to specialization. There has been breadth rather than intensity, precision, imagination and classical form rather than the crude outcome of merely organized scientific labours. There have been fewer scientific specialists than in Germany, but more men of learning whose work will be permanent literature because of its human qualities. The aim of French education has been, as M. Lanson says, to produce men, not primarily to turn out specialists, to train youth in love of their country instead of drilling them into efficient units in a national system which

has been organized against the rest of the world. "France has never thought of conquering the world nor of dominating it; she has been flattered on more than one occasion by inspiring and guiding it; and she has succeeded sometimes because her human and generous soul is widely open to new truths from whatever side they come". In contrast with Germany France is the most beloved of the nations of the world. Hospitable to ideas she sifts them, and then, as has been said, like the sower in the emblem on her postage-stamp, through the medium of her beautiful language she scatters them broadcast upon the earth.

But what of Britain? She has never been loved by the world like France, nor hated like Germany. Reserved, proud, jealous of her own soul she respects in others the same qualities and has never sought to win their affection, not even that of her own children beyond the seas. She has had the respect of the world but feared she has not been, for though in the consciousness of her strength she is slow to move and resolute to the end, she is not easily roused to passion nor does she use her power to repress the freedom of others. Quietly, far-sighted, she goes her own way and in time of stress discovers that respect outlasts emotion and that the honest person whom others have no cause to fear possesses abiding advantages.

That she has often been called "perfidious Albion" is true, and the Englishman has been branded as a hypocrite. Nor would it be difficult to choose from our history incidents which would bring a blush, nor to discover shrewdness in politics and commerce which has had self-interest as its main-spring. The Englishman also makes professions of morality and religion which he embodies in conventional conduct, formally observed codes of ethics and cramping institutions. But no one has been harder upon the Englishman than himself. Thackeray and Dickens were scathing critics of practices and characters of their day, none more so, but who will deny that the resultant impression from the work of these novelists is that England is sound and loveable, full of natural and developed goodness?

One reason for the charge of hypocrisy is that the Englishman does profess to follow ideals. The public has its standards of conduct which count for much because the average person in his free life is constrained by his desire for respectability to conform himself to them. But surely it is well to profess moral standards and to attempt to follow them. They keep back people from being shameless in misdeeds. As the voice of conscience rises in a man against his worse self, so in the English public these ideals find a response,

and frequent criticism without fear of consequences acts as a sharp salt to prevent morals from festering. From the mixture of ideals and criticism, conventionality and freedom, puritanism and worldliness, which have so often been molten together in the furnace of national distress, there has issued a spirit which cools usually into steel of fine temper.

To understand the Briton we must go far back, for his civilization is only less ancient than that of France. His heroes are Arthur, Alfred, Henry V. Sir Philip Sidney, Cromwell, Chatham, Wolfe, Nelson. The explorers of Britain from Drake to Livingstone and Scott, who with his company perished at the South Pole, have displayed daring and resolution but have practised little cruelty. Rough though the game often was they have in general played it according to the rules, and many of them were "very gallant gentlemen".

Britain has sent forth great pro-consuls, Durham, Sydenham and Elgin to Canada; Dalhousie and the Laurences to India; Cromer to Egypt. She has had a line of judges befitting a people who more than any other since the era of imperial Rome have been imbued with a sense of law and order, a respect based not upon any abstract idea but on a deeply ingrained conservative instinct which almost unconsciously turns to the supernatural for its sanction.

But in her incomparable literature Britain's soul is best revealed—in the Bible which has been so long read by the people in their own tongue that they accept it as theirs, in Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Burke, Bright—in the stories that the children read, Robinson Crusoe, Westward Ho!, Tom Brown's Schooldays—and in the household novels of Scott, Thackeray and Dickens.

Pervading this history and literature is the passion for freedom,

"We must be free or die who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spoke; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held".

Free in religion, free in government; it is the same story continued to the present democracy which is resolved that the liberty it enjoys shall be made possible for small nations. And the obligation of the freeman is to perform his duty and respect the rights of others. The ideals of freedom and duty which Britain has professed have not been as a rule narrowly national. Her line is gone out through all the earth. No estimate of her character would be sufficient unless it took account of the fact that "her home in on the deep". It is to the sailor that the heart of England turns, daring, resourceful, eager to ride the gale, his eye keen for change, but careless and open-hearted withal. Accustomed to new experiences he is impatient of the trammels of convention and loves freedom.

Many a cruel deed has been done upon the sea but far more that were brave and generous; the story of the city slum is worse than that of the fore-castle. Britain's sailors have carried freedom over the seven seas. That they should turn pirates is unthinkable; they have roamed the ocean too long for that and have learned its spirit too well.

Nor would Britain be what she is had she not been compelled by circumstances, which it must be confessed one sometimes wishes could have been different, to perform the arduous task of governing millions of subject peoples. That commercial advantage has accrued to her and that her great trading companies often exhibited more self-interest than benevolence should not tarnish the record of duty performed by thousands of her best men, who have spent themselves without stint and for no great personal gain, simply to maintain good order and render justice to those committed to their charge. India, Egypt, Africa, the Crown Colonies, have received the best that Britain had to give from her schools and universities, and the traditions cherished in many English homes of far-off service have left their mark on the ideals of to-day.

Those who have performed this duty are the finest product of English education, and nothing more distinguished can be found anywhere than this intelligence based on moral character. Oxford

and Cambridge rest upon the homes of England; their schools and triposes have been devised to fashion those who inherit the traditions of English life. Few Englishmen are so remorselessly scientific as the Germans, few have the quick intellect of the Frenchmen, but in individual genius and in the fine balance of sane intelligence and ethical strength the best Englishman is without a peer.

But he is a rare flower, and unfortunately the garden of England has not been kept as well as it should have been. The average man may not have been more neglected in England than in other countries, and in particular upon this continent, but there is a mass of abject poverty which has been allowed to develop like weeds. There are two grave defects in British education, insufficiency of organized effort to bring the results of pure science and economics to bear upon the welfare of the lower strata of the population; and too little regard for knowledge in itself shown in indifference to the spirit of science on the part of the educated classes. The average Englishman, contented with things as they were and unpurged of ignorant conceit, found it hard when he came to a new country to adjust himself to changed surroundings.

In the light of the preceding review of national ideals and educational aims what can we learn for ourselves? How are we to shape our own future?

Unquestionably we shall say that our civilization has more of good than evil in it. It has stood a heavy strain and no large rents have been made in the garment. We shall not cast it from us and take a substitute. Its ideas of law, righteousness, liberty are rich and strong strands which will still wear well. The endurance, restraint and humanity of the British people are no less in evidence than their resourcefulness. There is therefore no necessity of a radical revision of the educational principles which we have inherited from our fathers' homes across the sea. We shall continue to believe in education in public righteousness, all danger of being charged with hypocrisy notwithstanding, and we shall still hold to the ideals of the English and the French that the function of state education is to produce citizens of intelligence and moral worth who are first men and never the automatic subjects of a supreme government.

But this reasoned conviction as to the general wholesomeness of our ideals, comforting though it is to our *amour propre*, does not take us far enough. We shall run into the danger of being carried away by an undue appeal to tradition, for it is so easy to say, "the old wine is good". Already indeed some who never understood the spirit of science are bottling it up and labelling it "German Poison—To be kept out of the way of the Young". But

we have had enough of the so-called "practical" man, as for example the medical practitioner who despises scientific method as being German-made and claims that the old is good enough for him. We must have thinkers. They are the truly practical people, as was proved to the hilt in the war, for scientists thought to good purpose and rendered the highest service to manufacturers and men of business in the recent emergency. Nor has the end of the war ushered us into indolent ease; we shall have to think harder than ever in order to solve the problems that confront us.

These problems are not entirely economic; we shall not drop back into listlessness after the great awakening in industrial affairs which the war has produced, but more than that we shall not be allowed to forget that the questions that move human society most mightily are other than those that deal with the technique of trades and professions. The foundations of education underlie these superstructures. And it will be necessary to insist upon this fact, for though the public has paid homage of late to the achievements of science, it is doubtful whether this means a real change of heart as to the meaning and value of education. It will continue to pay this homage with all the more outward consent because scientists demonstrated during the war what wonderful

results their methods can accomplish, and the "efficiency" of Germany has been placarded before our eyes. But not a few among those of highest rank in science fear lest in the very success of the applications of science the true essence of science may evaporate, and the disinterested idealism, which in the laboratory stimulates investigation for the pure love of discovery and the advancement of knowledge, may vanish through the windows of the factory in alarm at the noise of its practical applications. At their best scientist and humanist are alike idealists. When the former professes to be "a guardian of a spiritual method from which flows knowledge" the latter may welcome a fellow-toiler at another wing of the educational fabric, who no less than himself is a partner in the erection of a structure the several parts of which constitute a harmonious whole.

Let us not lose sight of this fact in the controversy as to the relative amounts of science and classics which should be required in a curriculum and the time at which science should be introduced. This is in truth a secondary problem, for provided agreement exists as to the aim of education, experience, that approved teacher, will guide humanists and scientists who live in the spirit and not by the letter into a satisfactory solution of a problem unsolvable by men who stand apart and

fight for their own hand. Together they must proclaim to a world, dull-hearted if not unrepentant, the gospel of true educational principle, which like all truth is so difficult to interpret that few there are who get beyond its rudiments. In striking confirmation of this view I take these words from an article in the *Times* (February 23, 1917) by an officer who was wounded on the Somme:

"We ought to recognize that the real struggle in which this war is only an episode, is not merely between our own country and anything so unstable and transitory as modern Germany, but between permanent and irreconcilable claimants for the soul of man, and that what makes the German spirit dangerous is not that it is alien, but that it is horribly congenial to almost the whole modern world. For the spirit of German Imperialism is too often the spirit of English and American industrialism, with all its cult of power as an end in itself, its coarse material standards, its subordination of personality to mechanism, its worship of an elaborate and soul-destroying organization. . . . And if we feel that the absolute claim of personality, the preservation and development of spiritual freedom, are worth any sacrifice in time of war, we ought equally to feel that they are worth any sacrifice in time of peace". The first step towards educational reform is, he believes, to recognize that

our attitude towards education was wrong, and that we are not to commend it because it is commercially profitable, or leads to commercial success, or will be "our principal weapon in the coming commercial war".

Yet the view which this officer repudiates is perilously likely to be the result of the work of the "many educators (who) are persuaded that the real objects of education, primary, secondary and higher, are first cultivation of the powers of observation through the senses, secondly training in receiving correctly the accurate observations made, both on paper and on the retentive memory, and thirdly training in reasoning partly from the premises thus secured and from cognate facts held in the memory or found in print".* If this were to cover all the aims of education there is no guarantee that the next generation would not be simply super-efficient in the most deadly meaning of that term. Not a word is said there as to the ability of the person to choose for himself worthy ideals in life, nor of the necessity of a disciplined character with which to follow the ideals of one's choice. But that the definition is not complete is proved by this later remark, "The highest human interests are concerned with religion, government and the means of supporting and improving a family".

**Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1917.

This carries us forward to a really "practical" education. We must consider the complete manhood of our citizens. How are we to raise our standards and get them adopted by ever widening circles? How are we to create a more intelligent democracy? Average men and women who have displayed such heroism and endurance and who have laboured so unselfishly to save the commonwealth, will be deemed worthy of better things from the State, science will be called in to ameliorate their lot, education will widen its scope and open up new realms for them so that they may be able to spend their free hours with greater enjoyment. They must be given more leisure because they are men and not machines; but inasmuch as leisure without pure interests breeds discontent and evil, they must be educated so as to find interest for themselves in new fields and to tap new sources of pleasure in reading, conversation, art, music or travel.

The recent war has emphasised again the large part that the press plays in the education of the people, and its baneful results in Germany should set us thinking. A few years ago it would have been incredible to those who knew anything about Germany that so many of its leading men could have spoken as they have done, and that such a stream of hatred, its surface fouled with lies and

prejudices, could have poured forth from press, pulpit and professors' chairs. It was particularly distressing to hear teachers who were held in the highest regard justifying by *tours de force* the immoral practices of their Fatherland and uttering claims that only a child would make. A poison had for many years been infecting their life and had given even good men a jaundiced eye for everything English. Never did a subsidized and governmentally directed press produce such a moral catastrophe. We may well take warning by this example lest we forget the importance of a pure press for the education of all ranks of the people; not of the average alone. Germany has proved the truth of the maxim *corruptio optimi pessima*. Free discussion in the press will be our safety. Let us welcome criticism, remembering that tolerance and liberty of thought are essentials for the education of a free people.

The issue has been well stated by Lord Haldane, "Educational reform confronts the nation to-day. What we want is a nation of idealists as well as practical men and women, for it is perfectly recognized that the best man of business is the one with the highest sense of duty, the one who thinks of himself as a citizen of the State, touched with that divine fire which brings order and proportion to his every activity".

Such idealism in education will be the greatest incentive to the true scientific spirit, which is always intellectually eager, always ready to scale the next mountain range over against the valley in which this period of our life's broken history finds its transient abode. The sphere in which the scientific inquiry is made is manifold—pure science, philosophy, politics, economics, but the spirit of the truth-seeker is one. Nor is it greatly dissimilar to that of the humanist. To seek to comprehend man as he is in his present environment, whence he came and what he hopes to become is the object of scientist and humanist, and it is to be fervently hoped that this temper of mind will be beneficially diffused through the society of our coming age, as the mellow light of a dawning day bathes the world anew after a black night of storm.

III

A SCHOOL OF VIRTUE, LEARNING AND URBANITY

A UNIVERSITY cherishes with pride the memory of the great men who have been connected with it. Their portraits bring inspiration out of the past into the present to each generation of students, who on their anniversaries are led to contemplate their character, virtues and accomplishments. Fortunate, indeed, are the people whose heroes, after history has put their words and actions to an impartial test, are found to have risen constantly in the world's esteem. In this respect the University of Pennsylvania is peculiarly happy, because George Washington* is one whom the civilized world is proud to honour, and who possessed among his many titles to greatness an intelligent understanding of the need for the higher education of the people.

That quaint frontispiece to Mr. Lippincott's monograph entitled "George Washington and the University of Pennsylvania", which represents General Washington receiving his diploma, is of unique interest to all graduates of this University, for it perpetuates the fact of his intercourse with

*This address was delivered at the University of Pennsylvania on George Washington's birthday, Feb. 22, 1918.

distinguished leaders in its academic circle. It is said that he even attended some of the professors' lectures—surely a mark of eminent virtue. Shall we surmise that he meant to encourage despondent searchers after truth? Or was it a sublime example of propriety for the Philadelphia youth? On December 10, 1781, after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis and his army, Washington was presented by the Trustees with an address, and in his reply said, "I esteem [no congratulatory address] more highly than this of the Trustees and Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania. Convinced that science is the nurse of liberty I have ever made it a rule to protect and encourage, to the utmost of my power, all seminaries of learning; and inexpressibly happy shall I be to think that my services have in any degree contributed to the re-establishment of an institution so eminently distinguished as that which you, gentlemen, patronize".

His final testimony to the conviction that university education is of supreme importance for the welfare of the nation, is contained in the provision of his will bequeathing an endowment for the establishment of a national university in the District of Columbia, to educate the youth of the United States in the principles of republican government and "the true and genuine liberties of mankind". This act of faith on the part of one

of the world's greatest soldiers and statesmen, who had only an average education and taught himself much of what he knew, may well serve to quicken the people of this country to a realization of the fact that their true greatness is dependent upon enlightenment.

On December 13, 1783, Washington received from the University of Pennsylvania the degree of Doctor of Laws, on which occasion he expressed the hope that "the revolution (might) prove extensively propitious to the cause of literature", and that the "University (might) long continue to diffuse throughout an enlightened empire all the blessings of virtue, learning and urbanity".

A few years ago this prayer might have been regarded as old-fashioned, so rapid had been the transformation from the college to the modern university with its array of laboratories, workshops and buildings for professional purposes. A new spirit also, directed to the attainment of a scientific mind and the extension of the boundaries of knowledge, had quickened the academic life and wrought such change in the place that it was difficult for us to transport ourselves to those pristine college days.

The old-time college when classicists pondered leisurely over Plato and Aristotle was an agreeable society, though in varied interest it could not be

compared to our modern university with its daily paper, its cheering crowds on the bleachers and its hundreds of teachers professing almost anything from Domestic Science to Russian. I will assume that your Pennsylvanians were fine scholars; at any rate, they were aristocrats separated from the workaday crowd by the impenetrable barrier of Latin and Greek, within which a gentleman's education rich in "cloistered virtue" was imparted "without dust and heat". Rudely was the charm broken two generations ago when a pother arose outside the academic enclosures. Unmannerly fellows called "scientists" were bound to get in and try their way of educating youth. The classicists, though gentlemen, did not yield easily, nor were they defenceless, but their shafts of wit or scorn made little impression on the invaders who soon got possession. Once in the scientists felt the air stuffy; they were constantly at the windows, certain lewd fellows of the baser sort even hoping that as drafts of fresh air blew in, the classical gentlemen, who had already carried the delicate or dying Greek plant into an inner conservatory, would have to remove even their Latin to a smaller and closer room. The modern classicist, proud of his lineage and his well-mannered pupils, gazed with tremulous if indignant respect at these efficient children of the modern world, but all to no purpose,

for the complacent scientist was confident that he could afford to tolerate his erstwhile superior, who he believed was fast falling into the condition of the penniless maiden lady dependent chiefly upon her pride in her ancient line.

Happily for us, however, that old quarrel is being quickly composed, and the war is hastening us all, classicists and scientists, to practise a broader humanism than we knew before. A terrible example has been set before our eyes in the German universities, which were equipped with the most perfect laboratories and were pervaded by the most accurate scientific method, and yet have become the forcing-houses of noxious political theories, the juices of which, distilled into the life of the educated classes, have poisoned and perverted the most externally efficient people that have ever appeared on this earth. In Germany the universities have failed woefully in their duty to true culture and human civilization. Nor is there any distinction to be drawn between their classicists and scientists. All have lacked genuine humanism.

Perhaps, therefore, by our experience of the war we have been made somewhat readier to-day to linger for a while upon George Washington's hope that the university may long continue "to diffuse throughout an enlightened empire all the blessings of virtue, learning and urbanity". I am

persuaded that in these words we may discover something distinctive in the higher education of the United States and of Great Britain and her Empire, which we may happily consider together on this auspicious birthday of the father of your country, who possessed so much of the English character. Throughout the nineteenth century, aspiring even if radical and matter of fact, there ran both in your universities and in ours a strain of high idealism, faint enough at times to be sure before the new spirit of inquiry grew tense, but never obliterated, and their temper remained essentially unchanged.

The virtues which George Washington commended were believed to be created by the studies and to thrive in the atmosphere of the college, and until the present the distinctly collegiate education has been carefully fostered in America, as serving to produce a highly valued type of intelligent manhood. I am not unmindful of the rise and splendid development of the great universities on this continent during the past quarter of a century. They are a most encouraging proof of the quality of the American people, and are the pride of their communities which vote incredibly large grants of money for their maintenance. Laboratories and libraries have been provided with every facility for research, and if the pace is maintained the New

World will soon outstrip the Old and secure the lead in scientific investigation. I have heard more than one British authority say that the centre of gravity of scientific medicine is being rapidly transferred to this continent by the production of men of the first order who have at their hand everything in the way of equipment that money can supply. I do not wish to suggest that this true university spirit is confined to medicine. An eager desire for knowledge pervades all departments and animates them with a quick intellectual life, though too often it happens that a faithful worker is allowed only very ethereal satisfactions for the sustenance of earthly necessities. Hitherto there has been no danger of the scientific investigator deteriorating through social allurements or pecuniary rewards. A change in our judgments of value as to pure science and learning is greatly to be desired if we are to justify without shamefulness our pride in human accomplishment, of which we have been boasting so much of late.

But, notwithstanding the magnificent phenomenon of the American State university, it is doubtful whether it is as distinctly national as the college. Indeed the attempt is frequently made to retain the college within the university, on the ground that it preserves a spirit which gives health to the whole organism. It is thought to supply a certain

character even to the other faculties. The college itself, alone and apart, flourishes still, and there are few to say that its day is past. In the East it is endowed with the prestige of long lineage; in the Middle and the Western States it has taken root under the planting of those who brought traditions with them, and nowhere is it frail or decadent. In fact, the college idea is so embedded in the mind of the American people that the word is often used as an equivalent for "university". Nor shall we find this very strange if we keep in mind the origin and essential meaning of the university and the college.

The word "university" as originally employed denoted a guild or corporation; "the college" was properly a federation or fraternity of those in attendance at a university, housed in a building in which the members of the fraternity enjoyed a common society. In its earliest form the university was a guild of students, who chose their own teacher and even dealt with him as they saw fit, and of teachers also who as masters or doctors were qualified to give instruction. The college involved more than this. It consisted of teachers and scholars who lived together and who within a society imparted and acquired knowledge, or perhaps I should say, received instruction. The colleges were the dwellings of students who attended

the university, and which in the case of Oxford and Cambridge gave the university permanence and cohesion. They were established in order that discipline might be exercised over the members of the society. Character, manners, conduct are elements inherent in the finished product of the college.

Allow me just here to remind you that the three oldest universities of Scotland, St. Andrew's, Glasgow and Aberdeen, all possessed colleges at their inception, but that Edinburgh, the youngest and most open to the illumination of the new age, was always a university rather than a college. The word "college" has clung to the Scotch universities to this day, and still it is to "college" that the "lad o' pairts" wends his way from an humble home. I will linger for a few moments on the Scotch university as I knew it thirty years ago. It was a place with little organization; without discipline or real supervision the student roamed as he would within or beyond the old quadrangle; frequently indeed he took his own way with the professor himself in the classroom. There was no matriculation examination. You paid your fee of one pound to matriculate, then chose what classes you would, and for each class you handed over three guineas to the professor in person, who in return for this fee lectured to you as one of a multitude, sometimes a noisy crew of two hundred;

and all except a dozen or two remained unknown to him. With but scanty help from the professor's assistant the solitary student ploughed his own course through his sea of troubles. He lived by himself in his own lodging, supervised his own morals, picked up his friends from those who sat beside him in the lecture-room, or who walked down the same street in the foggy mornings of that grey northern city. It is not to be wondered at therefore that at the end of four sessions spent in this way many a country lad still carried on him the marks of his far-off village, and that polish and urbanity smacked to him of the insincere or were regarded as mere surface accomplishments. But the best of those Scotsmen were magnificent students of fine intellect with a passion for learning and were steeped in good literature, of such mettle withal that when they entered the lists in the wide world they bore off the palm from the keenest competitors.

It was through the mind almost entirely that the university moulded the undergraduate, and that chiefly by the rigid curriculum, and the personality of the professor. Seven subjects were required for the degree in Arts—Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Logic and Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy and English. The professors were as a rule men of unusual ability and strength of

character, as, for example in Edinburgh when I was an undergraduate, Sellar, Butcher, Chrystal, Tait, Campbell Fraser, Masson, and their contemporaries in Glasgow, Jebb, Kelvin, Caird, Nichol. The varied subjects taught by such unusual men to keen and receptive students, most of whom were constrained to live in a modest way and in comparative seclusion, could not fail to influence their character. But how much more potent and beneficial an influence would the Scotch universities have exerted upon the national life had they been true to the name by which the people call them and been colleges indeed?

We must, however, turn to the old English universities to understand what the college really is. When we think of Oxford and Cambridge it is not the university but the college that comes to our mind—Christ Church, Balliol, Magdalen, Trinity, Kings, Christ's and so many other classic examples of historic continuity, those ancient and beautiful homes of fellows and undergraduates invested with a charm which is heightened by memory as the years pass.* One who as an undergraduate spent three years in an Oxford or Cambridge college may have but paltry knowledge, and be dull in intellect,

*As Viscount Morley remarks, "The association of antique halls and grey time-worn towers went deeper than the schools and companionship was more than lectures".

but he will have acquired by his residence in the cultivated society of men of learning and urbanity such manners as will make him feel at home among educated people. Amenity counts for a good deal in human life.

But it is not in the past that the greatest period in the life of the English colleges is to be sought; never were they as really vital as to-day. I venture to believe that had the universities of Oxford and Cambridge fashioned opinion in the eighteenth century as worthily as they do at present, Washington would not have had cause to lead the thirteen States to form a new nation on this continent. As we all know, England has since then become a great democracy, and the universities are responsible in no small measure for the change. When your forefathers decided to go their own way, Oxford and Cambridge were provincial, self-centred and easeful, and reflecting the social and moral temper of the upper classes of the English people, were more famed for their high living than for their laborious pursuit of learning. But for half a century before the present war the schools of *literae humaniores* and modern history and the triposes had produced a constant supply of clear thinkers with a high purpose. The scientific spirit like a spring wind had renovated the life of the colleges. Not only Plato and Aristotle, but Burke,

the champion of your freedom and the prophet of emancipation, were read with minute and almost reverent care. Political theory was brought to bear on practical affairs, and sympathy for the stirring democracy was awakened. Most of the statesmen who have directed Britain during the last half century, when parliament became increasingly responsive to the will of the whole people, were prepared for their public life in the idealistic atmosphere of the colleges. Highly educated graduates became great administrators abroad or at home and found scope for their intellectual equipment in taking part in the direction of the affairs of the commonwealth. Of late these universities have also been widening their influence by the introduction of a system of extension for the purpose of conveying to the workingmen of England an understanding of fundamental political and economic problems, and they have achieved no small measure of success. They are creating in them a new mind, and are turning them into intelligent voters, who are able to follow or criticise with understanding their university-bred leaders, and to reason dispassionately upon the causes of social or political discontent. By broadening the courses of study, transforming methods, infusing a new spirit and bringing in students from circles of the population which were strangers to them in

the eighteenth century, the old universities of England have become benefactors and moulders of the new democracy.

Here we are getting near to the heart of English education of the higher grade. It possesses a distinctive throb which cannot be detected in the educational system of Germany. In the United States, however, the same life-pulse can be plainly discerned, the aims and ideals of superior education being very similar. Both countries have retained the "college". This is due to their common ultimate source and to the similar moral, intellectual and political convictions which neither section of the English-speaking family jettisoned in the storm of the eighteenth century which swept the surface for some years and finally drove you away into a harborage under your own flag. Both peoples profess to judge the quality of education by its result in character, by its success in fashioning the sentiments and moral judgment, as well as in sharpening the intellect, and by its development of the gifts and faculties of youth into a well-proportioned harmony.

You may, however, ask me to define more carefully the meaning and worth of this demand for character as a product of education. I often wonder whether the advocates of college education have a clear conception of their term, and if so whether their product is of real value to society.

The word character may mean nothing more than a distinguishing mark, some quality that makes a man recognizable among his fellows. It is conceivable, for example, that a college man might be known by a special slang, by his gait or even by his apparent, but I must add only apparent, indifference to dress on the campus. That character might be determined merely by conformity to rules of behaviour which have a sanction within his society where they are almost as inviolate as a divine order. In that sense character would be but the outward customs and "good form" or the views of life which are peculiar to a privileged class, and which easily harden into caste standards and make barriers between this cloistered society and the surging world of average men and women without. If this is all that is meant by character its possession will turn our college men into separatists, or, to use a harsh word, academic pharisees. Nor am I conjuring up an altogether imaginative product. There are dangers facing us in our college life. It has become a fashion to send the boy to college; the gate stands wide open so that many go in thereat who seem unaware that they are within precincts where learning, science and lofty endeavour are supposed to dwell. Those who send them will be content if they acquire some embellishment of good form and some softening of their crudities

so that they may take their place in society without offence. Possibly the earnest war-time spirit will check this unhealthy development and produce a fresh intellectual atmosphere, in which scientific method, varied research, increase of knowledge, solid learning, and intellectual efficiency of every sort will so thrive as to choke off weeds and thistles.

Notwithstanding all that I have just been saying, I will make bold to affirm that character is the crown of our education and is the safeguard of our intellectual efficiency. By character I mean the permanent possession of moral qualities. But again I may be asked whether I am not still vague. Morals are distressingly variant; different people judge differently. To-day, for example, many of the most highly educated Germans and the leaders of their moral forces have invested the individual conscience with such supremacy that it justifies to itself any breach of international morality on the pleas of national necessity and loyalty to the German Empire. Bismarck—in one sense the strongest man of character in the nineteenth century—is their model, and Luther is associated with him as the German of the Germans, whose most questionable acts, which have always occasioned regret to his admirers, are now accepted as satisfactorily explained because they were required by the conditions in which he found himself. I do

not intend to enter into any argument to prove that we do not follow a will-o'-the-wisp when we pursue character. Nor shall I appeal to religion and the sublimest Person in history in support of my belief. On this day I will simply set before you one man who is accepted by English-speaking peoples the world over as an example of the character which they would willingly see reproduced in the youth of their colleges. George Washington incarnates the virtues and the urbanity which any English-speaking university would gladly accept as standards of conduct. It was a pure seed that could produce such fruit. But indeed the people of the United States have been peculiarly fortunate in their leaders. I need only mention that other great Virginian, Robert E. Lee, and the most universally human of all Americans, Abraham Lincoln, whose characters illumine your annals and are shining examples for all to follow who would truly serve the commonwealth. With such illustrious ornaments you need not hesitate to challenge your youth to high endeavour.

Washington believed that a university should produce virtue, learning and urbanity, and he also regarded "science (as) the nurse of liberty". In this he showed his good understanding. Our education is twofold, to recall the people to ancient and established truths and to turn their feet through

the advance of science into ever-widening paths of liberty. Urbanity is the child of learning and of inherited virtue; science is the prophet of a brighter day of freedom. Literature is a living word speaking across the ages of striving humanity unmutated by machinery and not serving the purpose of designing men. Virtue may be inculcated by precept or be sustained by the doctrines and ritual of imposing institutions, but precept soon degenerates into lifeless law, and institutions must be purged again and again when they have converted themselves into ends instead of being content to serve as means. Great teachers at times overstate the truth, place this precept or that in too high relief, or in the service of an organization turn formalist. But enduring literature is always sincere, for by the pruning-knife of time lifeless words have been cut off. In literature we are served heirs to our heroic past. Through science we receive a vision of the world of men and nature round about us. Science has always been the nurse of liberty. In every age when science prevailed freedom was enlarged. As truth came like the dawn the rule of law was made manifest, and prejudices, superstitions, fears, tyrannies which thrived on arbitrariness and chance fled fast before the light. Science brought liberty from physical disease, from mental disorder, from social wrong,

from political and ecclesiastical oppression. Science clear of eye, swift to hear, ready to ponder, slow to speak, the nursing-mother of high-minded, self-controlled, reliant sons of freedom, should, like ancient Wisdom, walk in the way of righteousness and in the midst of the paths of judgment.

Those who are privileged to teach literature and pure science, if they will use their opportunity, mould character as their predecessors have done. The same subjects if taught with the understanding will produce the same results. But the modern university is a highly complex organization consisting of many faculties and training for many walks of life. How is it possible to create in these faculties an *ethos* or moral character? The task is so difficult that it is denied by some to be any part of a university's function. We all know the teacher who claims that he has fulfilled his whole duty to the student when he has made him something of an anatomist, or physiologist, or physical chemist, or has left no stone unturned against which he might stumble as he seeks entrance into the realms of applied electricity, thermodynamics or metallurgy. Nor should any one challenge the assertion that this is the teacher's first duty. A university which does not demand from its staff that they shall be experts in their subjects is not honest in its claims. Professors are chosen to advance and to teach

science, not practical morals, and if they do not, their conduct will be immoral and they will be nondescript charlatans. The production of efficiency will be demanded from the universities with increasing emphasis, and we shall not relax our efforts until we have the most thoroughly trained professional men in the world.

But danger lurks here. Already signs are not wanting that graduates may leave our universities instructed and trained as none before have been in the technique of their profession, but lacking the highest efficiency of character. Clever, versatile, able men who are without high purpose or wisdom may produce with their misdirected skill results that will be widely injurious. With efficient Germany before our eyes we cannot have this repeated too often. Unless we are to profit nothing by the horrors of the present we must protect ourselves against a soulless professional efficiency. We have an initial advantage in that our students come to us from schools and from a society in which simple and healthful virtues are for the most part taught and observed. The least that we can do is to take pains that the standards of the university shall be such as to strengthen the things that are of good report and honourable. But this is not sufficient. More will be expected of universities to which the State and individual

benefactors are so generous. The people will demand a good return from those to whom they have shown great favour. Our youth, as none of those who went before them, are debtors to the commonwealth; and the benefactors will hold the beneficiaries to account, for modern education is essentially a stewardship. It goes without saying that our technical standards must be high, and that the people will be content with nothing less than the best from physicians, engineers, lawyers. This is their primary service, but the man who has received advantages above his fellows at the expense of the public, will not have fulfilled his duty if he is merely an expert in his own line, and turns the results of his State-provided education to his own selfish purposes. A demand will arise that those who have received much from the State shall contribute much to the State. The old motto *noblesse oblige* will get a finer application in the new democracy. If higher education affords a patent for a more genuine nobility than that of feudalism, the new knights of democracy are by the warrant of their order bound to higher duties than those less favoured. This idea is very potent, and if it once pervades the institutions which are supported by the State, it will of itself supply much that would be lacking in an education which is efficient only according to the letter. There must

be spirit as well as letter, and it is the spirit that creates what is known as professional ethics. Each profession has its own standards of conduct, its regulations or code which it is the part of all to practise who are worthy of their confraternity. The code, of course, may degenerate into mere etiquette, or the guild's "good form," but in so far as it does it will stiffen the limbs and muscles of the professional body and will get as it deserves harsh criticism from the public. If, however, the profession recognizes its debt to society and out of a liberal heart devises liberal things it will retain its hold upon the people.

It is, therefore, the duty of the university, and in keeping with its origin and historical associations, to seek to inculcate in those who are trained in its faculties a high standard of professional conduct. Just how this is to be done may well engage the attention of each school. If a faculty is so fortunate as to possess in its professoriate men of the highest character and professional standing the matter will solve itself, for personal influence is a supreme education. But how are such men to be secured? Large salaries alone will not do it, though unquestionably they are a factor in the case. It is altogether probable that the university will never be able to offer salaries comparable in money value to the incomes of the most popular

physicians, surgeons, lawyers and engineers, but it should be given such support that it can provide a fitting livelihood for men who require comfort in order to do their best work. There is also the reward of public esteem. That will go far to redress the balance. A great change would be produced if there were created in the mind of the public something of the same regard for the professor as that in which those occupying superior positions on the Bench are held in America and in Great Britain. The greatest lawyers usually look to a judgeship as the crown of their ambition even though they sacrifice money emoluments in accepting it. The leading chairs in the great universities should be invested in the public mind with similar honour. But unfortunately the teaching profession has been held in too slight esteem all over this continent. It has been entered so often simply in order to earn a living or to serve one's own interests, and has been given a beggarly return for its pains as compared with what other professions yield. In the teaching profession the aim should be found in the profession itself. The word has always had the idea of a vocation as of a person being called to serve others. Only by according to the teacher the respect inspired by the call to a great purpose, will this continent maintain a supply of honourable and efficient specialists who will by

their own character set the living standards for the professions. High-minded teachers in the universities mean a generation of nobly aspiring youth, who transmit their pure impulse to a world which will become responsive to the illumination of the truth, as the ancient statue was in notes of music to the touch of the first rays of dawn.

To say that our students who have received the spirit of high professional ethics have been summoned by the university to take up their career as a vocation is really to say that they have been imbued by high patriotism. In this our time of awful struggle the word and thought of patriotism, as is most natural and fitting, illumine with unfading glory the act of sacrifice of the soldier and sailor who go forth to die, or of the parents who bid them a heroic farewell; but throughout most of our lives, thank God, we live at peace, and then to our misfortune, patriotism seems too often to be like a garment folded and laid away lest it become dust-worn in the traffic of common day. Henceforth, however, we of the universities who have understood the import of the present war must insist upon it that those whom we influence shall understand how precious a heritage has been repurchased for us at the cost of much blood, and that this heritage is to be tended and enriched by the patriotic

effort of those who have received the privilege of higher education.

A few years ago, at the Conference of the Universities of the British Empire in 1912, I heard Lord Rosebery, one of the greatest of our British statesmen, demand that character, morals, energy and patriotism should be infused in the students by the tone and atmosphere of the universities and professors. He proceeded in words that since the war have much greater point: "I do not think any intelligent observer can watch the course of the world without seeing that a great movement of unrest is passing over it, whether for good or for evil, I cannot doubt for good—and that it is affecting not merely England and the Empire, but the entire universe. . . . Is not the whole world in the throes of a travail to produce something—something new to us, something, perhaps, new to history; something perhaps better than anything we have yet known, which it may take long to perfect or to achieve, but which at any rate means a new evolution? Now we want all the help we can get. For the purpose of guiding this movement, for the purpose of letting it proceed upon safe lines that will not lead to shipwreck, we need all the men that the universities can give us, not merely the highest intelligences, but also men right through the framework of society from the highest

to the lowest, whose character and virtues can influence and inspire others."

Fortunately for us, this highest patriotism is compacted out of simple virtues. If order is to issue from the present confusion confidence must be again created among men, and confidence is the child of virtue.

The charities that soothe and heal and bless,
Are scattered at the feet of man—like flowers.

The hideous distrust which has riven the world asunder has been engendered partly by an immoral patriotism, partly by the false doctrine that nations in their dealings with one another may neglect the simple virtues that make a village happy. Our disaster will surely demonstrate to the world how false this theory is. We had been accustomed to think of Asia as the home of duplicity and craftiness and the habitation of cruelty, but it was in Europe and in the capital of the most efficient of the peoples of the earth that cunning men sat for a generation weaving in secret a net of wondrous texture, in which they would enmesh and capture one by one the free nations of the world. These plotters are at infinite cost being exposed and hemmed in so that we hope that they will soon be reduced to impotence. But it remains for us to re-establish law and order and to create confidence by recalling the educated world to the necessity of practising the

simple and ancient virtues in world politics which have been put to scorn by our adversaries.

Only the voice of Duty, "Stern Lawgiver," who wears "the Godhead's most benignant grace," will calm "the weary strife of frail humanity." It therefore is most meet and fitting that in this time of confusion we should again recall the words of Washington, who commended himself to the guidance of Duty throughout his life:

"We ought to be persuaded that the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained;" and above all in the Farewell Address; "Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages that might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recom-

mended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?"

Sincere, patient beyond belief, unwearied in service to his people, modest in self-judgment, slow to think evil of others, pure in word and in outward act was George Washington; and you do well to celebrate each year his memory, in order that the rising generation may in some wise be shaped into the likeness of a patriot so lofty and a gentleman so virtuous and so urbane.

IV. WHAT ABOUT PROGRESS?*

ONE of the most dominant convictions of the era in Western civilization which has just closed was that Progress is a justifiable conception. The average man, especially of the New World, was persuaded that this age had made progress beyond all other ages, and that our future was assured. He took for granted that by reason of the inherent powers of Democracy and the immense natural resources of this continent we were bound to reach a position of pre-eminence such as no other period of the world's history had seen. Accordingly institutions and individuals were judged by a supposedly progressive standard. A man and the community in which he lived had to be progressive, a business must be progressive, so also the University as the director of organized knowledge. Very few, I imagine, had defined their terms, and when you asked this modern man what he meant by Progress, he would in all likelihood give you a vague and quite insufficient reply in terms of material development and the application of science to industry.

*An address delivered at the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, at the Spring celebration, 1916.

This complacent state of mind prevailed up till August, 1914, but in that month a hurricane smote Western civilization, and ever since, the comfortable home that we had reared for ourselves out of our axioms, opinions, and assumptions has been swaying so violently that broad fissures are appearing in its walls, and we are often fearful lest we shall have to abandon our former domicile. Small wonder, indeed, is it that the dogma is crumbling, for if you seek the manifestations of progress mainly in the accomplishments of science, nowhere will you find such marvellous results as in the superb instruments of modern war—artillery, aeroplanes, super-dreadnoughts, submarines; and yet these are being used to destroy with unprecedented slaughter millions of the most civilized men of Europe at the most hopeful and productive age of their life. We may well ask, Does Progress mark the history of man?

It is quite conceivable that our conviction as to the reality of Progress may spring from temperamental optimism occasioned partly by climate, partly by the extraordinary discoveries of this New World, partly by the energies of youth. There have been great eras of the world's history in which there was no belief in Progress. There are peoples now to whom the idea is strange. China and large portions of India would hardly

understand the term. Some philosophies have been constructed on a pessimistic basis; others have assumed that there are cycles in the world's history in the regular return of which man's experience repeats itself.

If we are to get a satisfactory answer to our question as to the reality of Progress we must not fix our glance upon the present age alone nor base our judgment solely upon the depressing conditions of to-day. Fortunately the study of history has made great advance, partly through the practice of scientific method, partly by reason of the unearthing or discovery of records of the past; and a wide survey of the course of human life over great stretches of time, though with large gaps, has become possible. This survey does not reveal uniform and unbroken advance, but it does show on the whole a rise in standards of living and their extension, increasing comprehension by man of the laws of nature and greater control of her powers. To assume, however, from this course of history that Progress attends the years of maturing humanity would be to give the term an external definition, as we have seen is ordinarily done by the average man. We should still ask, Is there any goal in sight? If so, what is its character?

1. HISTORY OF THE IDEA

When did men begin to think about Progress? How did they define it? Reflection upon an idea comes late in its history. There must be periods of actual advancement before men set themselves to ask what constitutes development. So it came to pass that continued reflection upon the idea of Progress is quite recent, but it was prepared for by great happenings. If we trace its rudimentary beginnings and then outline briefly the steps in modern European civilization that created the new world in which the idea sprang into full being, we shall more clearly grasp its import.

As for so much that is most enduring in civilization we must turn to the ancient Greeks for the origins. "Greece first took up the task of equipping man with all that fits him for civil life and promotes his secular well-being: of unfolding and expanding every inborn faculty and energy, bodily and mental: of striving restlessly after the perfection of the whole, and in finding this effort after an unattainable ideal that by which man becomes like unto the gods".*

Though both the idea and the fact of Progress are "far-off workings" from Greece it was not a motive force even in the classic age, for ancient Athens, suffused with melancholy as she looked

*Butcher, *Aspects of Greek Genius*, p. 41.

upon the fleeting shadows of the present, cast her glance backward for the golden age. It was a shortlived era, that classic time, and after the conquests of Alexander a wearied and disappointed society began to lose confidence in its own powers, the sceptic came on the scene, and earnest minds turned to Oriental mysteries or to a hope of revelations from another realm than this.

Greece yielded to imperial Rome, often less human than the captive Greece who conquered her, but far more able to understand and rule humanity. In the Roman Empire law was supreme. The individual had to submit himself to the policy of the state, which was regulated not by the opinions of individual localities, but by imperial decree. In addition to this, philosophical ideas as to the brotherhood of man gained currency in Rome as they never had in Greece, and the Stoicism of the Empire broadened out its ideal until in many cultivated circles a conception of universal brotherhood prevailed. Though this conception was not realized—indeed, was for the most part a pathetic aspiration—it prepared the way for what came to pass in Christianity. Within the Roman Empire freedom grew less and less, economic and social causes induced decay, and with the irruption of Northern peoples the old Roman Empire lost its

vitality, and a new phase of human history appeared.

Long before this, Jesus had sown the seed of a new life in Galilee and his disciples had scattered it over the world. But so far from Progress being one of the regulative ideals of the Gospel, the early Christian would not have understood what we mean by the term. His hope was fixed upon the coming of his Lord and the Kingdom of God, which was imminent and would bring with it the dissolution of the present order and translation into a new state. Men were to prepare themselves for that Day which cometh as a thief in the night. They were to make haste to proclaim its advent, and to spread the Gospel far and wide in the time at their disposal. Signs of change were all about them. Things were being shaken. Only the eternal unseen Kingdom would remain. Therefore in the first two centuries they gave little heed to art, literature, economic conditions, and that aspect of human life which we call civilization. Nevertheless the essential element of Progress is found in the Christian proclamation of the worth of human life, and the apostle Paul comes near the root of the matter when he writes to the Philippians, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are

lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, or if there be any praise, think on these things”.

We may pass over the intervening centuries that elapsed before our modern world came to its birth. During this period new ideas were maturing, new inventions were devised, new discoveries made. Not the least absorbing chapter of European life is the story of human freedom, intellectual and political. It is a sad story, with many cruelties and much fruitless effort, but also full of heroic and on the whole successful endeavour. Far back in 1395 the Scots poet, John Barbour, glowed with the thought of what freedom brings:—

A! Fredome is a noble thing!
Fredome mays man to haif liking;
Fredome all solace to man giffis,
He lives at ese that frely livis!
A noble hart may haif nane ese,
Na ellys mocht that may him plese,
Gif fredome fail'th.

Feudalism decayed, new nations were formed, men of dominant character and genius replaced the old barons in strong cities, the individual got recognition. Democracy like a new land of hope was sighted as a dim cloud on the horizon.

The invention of the printing-press was an event of supreme importance. Henceforth the ideas of the solitary thinker were carried far and

wide on the printed page and they became enriched as they passed through many minds.

Moved with curiosity and inspired by an awakening courage men peered out of their narrow environment into the unknown beyond. A race of brave pioneers began to assert their right to control the powers of nature and they ventured forth on the ocean, the successors of the "grave Tyrian Trader" who

Snatch'd his rudder, shook out more sail;
And day and night held on indignantly
O'er the blue Midland waters with the gale,
Betwixt the Syrtes and soft Sicily,
To where the Atlantic raves
Outside the Western straits; and unbent sails
There, where down cloudy cliffs, through sheets of foam,
Shy traffickers, the dark Iberians come;
And on the beach undid his corded bales.

Man's daring spirit awoke in this Age of Discovery. Columbus, the supereminent, burst into the solitude of the Western Ocean and turned thither the trend of exploration. Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape and went to India; Magellan entered the Pacific. There followed a great race of sailors whose familiarity with the ocean in all its moods dispelled fear. They knew something of what lay beyond; they used the fickle winds, and when neither sun nor stars appeared for many days they went by dead reckoning. Man, greatly venturesome, was asserting his mastery as he has

continued to do until the present, and now there is no region of the world into which he has not penetrated; he has discovered the secrets even of the poles. Nor should we judge him in this to be rashly and aimlessly heroic, for he is giving proof of his indomitable resolve to comprehend to the uttermost this sphere on which his lot is cast.

The discoveries of the explorer have always kindled the imagination of the statesman, the man of commerce or the scientist. Especially was this so when the extent of the New World began to appear. A new impulse was imparted to man's sense of power. He dreamed of possible conquests and of an undefiled home for the freedom which had received so niggardly a welcome when it presented itself for recognition in the old world of Europe; his horizon widened, his vision of the future brightened.

At the Renaissance contact with the recently discovered literature of Greece, still quickening as of old, revived interest at first in arts and letters and later in the sciences, and opened the way by the introduction of the method of accurate observation and experiment for the stupendous discoveries as to the constitution of nature which have revolutionized the world.

So much for the awakening of man's spirit. But he soon undertook also to think out and to express the meaning of this activity. And thinkers in the long run rule the world, for "ideas are the chief agitators".

France is the home of the modern conception of progress as a regulative idea of civilization and human history. Like a flash from a lighthouse below the horizon-line these words are found in Pascal in the 17th century: "Those whom we call the ancients were really those who lived in the youth of the world, and the true infancy of man; and as we have added the experience of the ages between us and them to what they knew, it is only in ourselves that is to be found that antiquity which we venerate in others". Then came on the outwardly brilliant age of Louis XIV—a period of incubation for the idea of progress. Society underwent rapid change; religion fell into contempt, supernatural sanctions lost their power, men discovered law in the material universe and substituted reason for faith. Concomitantly with this, tradition was scorned and the foundation slipped from under the old structure of conduct. Starting from the view that nature is a unity and intelligible, Fontenelle and Leibnitz compared the movement of humanity in history with "the great and universal movement which dominates nature";

but they thought of this Progress of the race as coming with painful steps and slow.*

The greatest names in the formulation of this modern idea are those of Turgot and Condorcet. They made popular the thought of the endless progress of the human race on this earth, a limitless intellectual, moral, and physical advancement which can be retarded only by ignorance from reaching its goal of perfection. "All epochs are fastened together by a sequence of causes and effects linking the condition of the world to all the conditions that have gone before it . . . and the human race, observed from its first beginning seems in the eye of the philosopher to be one vast whole which like each individual in it has its infancy and its growth".† This progress of man or his march towards perfection was to be seen in "the gradual evolution and elevation of man's nature as a whole, the enlightenment of his intelligence, the expansion and purification of his feelings, the amelioration of his worldly lot, and in a word, the spread of truth, virtue, liberty, and comfort, more and more among all classes of men".‡ It was brought about, according to Turgot, by the

*See Brunetière, *La Formation de l'idée de Progrès au XVIII^e Siècle. Études critiques V.*

†John Morley, *Miscellanies* II, p. 96.

‡Flint, *History of Philosophy of History*, p. 282.

diffusion of knowledge, in the power of which he had supreme confidence. These ideas were adopted and developed by Condorcet who also held that ignorance was the only barrier to the realization of the perfectibility of the race.

This idea appealed to the imagination of men, and with good reason, for it is a fascinating discovery if we can trace from the dawn of history an ever widening and deepening stream of life, here deviating round an obstacle, there driven back upon itself by some barrier only in the end to surmount it, until finally it is lost in the ocean of human perfection from which the brooding clouds of ignorance have been dissipated. Nor need we question the worth of the idea because it was late in coming into vogue. Experience may prove that the longer the mind of man dwells upon it the more intrinsically probable it will become. But it is to be remarked that however valid the conception of the perfectibility of the human race on this earth may be, its essence cannot be interpreted, as Turgot and Condorcet thought, to reside merely in the advance of intelligence. No further proof of this is necessary than the present war among the most intelligent peoples of the world. We hardly needed this reminder, for it has been a commonplace that great intellectual attainment may lower instead of heightening sympathy and

may blind its possessor to simple but universal feelings and emotions which unite society and create character.

"Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers".

The nineteenth century was one of the greatest in history. It was full of optimism, and well it might be, for insignificant though each individual is, man has asserted his mastery over nature as never before, has learned to dread her less in her most awful moods, has essayed and accomplished tasks which a few generations ago would have seemed to be miraculous. Indeed the Greeks would have feared that this mastery bordered on the impious, and that piercing through mountains and plunging into the depths, man would bring upon himself such ruin as fell upon Xerxes for his insolence in encroaching upon the domain of the gods by bridging the Hellespont. What cannot man attain unto? He has made the earth to shrink, has lessened time, has unearthed the past, has dissipated mysteries and is endeavouring to take from death itself the terror that has always invested it. This optimism reinforcing belief in "verifiable" progress, to use Bagehot's expression,* has been heightened by the promulgation of the biological law of evolution, a scientific hypothesis of almost universal acceptance which in its realm

*See *Physics and Politics*.

seems to run parallel with the idea of progress in the moral and historical domain of human life. Under the impulse of the doctrine of evolution men looked into the future with great expectation. Metchnikoff went so far as to say that "old age is a form of disease or is due to disease and theoretically at least is capable of being eliminated". Though not accepting this view Sir Edward Schaefer forecasts the possibility of the dawn of a day when man will have learned to regard the coming of death as "a simple physiological process as natural as the oncoming of sleep . . . and the sunshine which science irradiates may eventually put to flight the melancholy which hovers, bat-like, over the termination of our lives".*

2. IS THE IDEA OF PROGRESS VALID?

Ours has been an optimistic era, a confident age, a hopeful period on which the idea of Progress shone like a fixed luminary. But may it be that the clouds now gathered will cast such gloom upon the world that the new age will become one of profound pessimism? We have gone on lengthening life on the assumption that it is intrinsically valuable. Possibly the woes of the present war will blight the flower of our idealism like a late frost and ruin the hopes of fruit. Why believe

**Presidential Address before the British Association, 1912.*

with the physiologist that we may lengthen life and regard its close with reasoned equanimity when science shall have dissolved its mystery, if the quality of that life is poorer? Mere lengthening of years is not of the essence of progress. Recently a writer in the *Revue des deux Mondes* stated that in France men are now looking upon death reasonably because the sorrow of life has been so immeasurably increased by this war that death affords a welcome escape from its anxieties, sufferings, and tears. Lucretius expresses the mood especially well. In the last generation, this writer avers, when life was comfortable the average person feared death. He put it from him as an ugly dream. From the ice-bound barrier of death a chilling wind blew and men sought to escape it by living on the sunny side of the hill, believing that when evening fell they would go out into a raw night without stars. But the war has changed all that. Death now offers an escape from a vale of woe.

I have dwelt upon these contrasted views because I desire to emphasize the fact that evolution and progress are not the same. The latter concerns the intrinsic value of the life we possess. Progress is not to be narrowly defined in terms of material well-being, or of the growth of scientific knowledge and its applications to the external equip-

ment of the human race. It is determined by the essential quality and worth of the ideals that man sets before himself, by the measure in which he realizes them and by the harmony that this accomplishment induces both in himself and in the society of which he is a member. Huxley defined the law of external nature, which he read in terms of the doctrine of evolution, as "the cosmic process"; translated into the moral domain it was "the self-assertion, the unscrupulous seizing upon all that can be grasped, the tenacious holding of all that can be kept, which constitute the struggle for existence".* But he also recognized in human life the "ethical process which checks the cosmic process at every step". By the potency of this "ethical process" Huxley would estimate the real progress of humanity. "Social progress means a checking of the cosmic process at every step and the substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process; the end of which is not the survival of those who may happen to be the fittest in respect of the whole of the conditions which obtain, but of those who are ethically the best".†

Adopting these terms that Huxley has coined we may make a working definition for ourselves—Progress is to be measured by the relative propor-

**Evolution and Ethics*, 1903, p. 51.

†*Op. cit.*, p. 81.

tion of "the ethical process" to "the cosmic process" at any definite stage of the world's history. It is to be estimated by the rationality of life rather than by the length of days.

But is it not the Ironical Spirit that prompts us if we speak at such a time as this of Progress in other terms than those of "reeking tube and iron shard?" Have our fine dreams that we spun before 1914 all been shot away? When we come to grips not with nightmares which vanish but with horrible realities that clutch us in open daylight, are we likely to sink into pessimism and think that the late-comer "Progress" is a delusion? That would be, I believe, too doleful a view. We have been chastened, however, and have grown less confident as to the triumphant advance of the human race over all obstacles to the goal of its perfection. The future of mankind is shrouded in mystery. Foul weather has succeeded fair days with disconcerting suddenness, and we have no grounds for assuming that this is the last storm that will snap off fruit and branches from our civilization. Even in this Western world we are not in the mood to-day to indulge as optimistically as before the anticipations of the French theorists as to the indefinite perfectibility of the human species on this earth.

Nor does Christianity itself compel us to adopt such a theory. In the parable of the Sower, Jesus

sets forth the different kinds of soil on which the seed of his Gospel will fall. There is the hard beaten track through the corn-field from which the birds pick off the grains, the thin soil on an underlying rocky bed, ground that is not clean, and good ground that yields in abundance. By the use of this parable Jesus warns his disciples against undue enthusiasm. He interprets thereby the quality of their environment, and there is no reason to doubt that he would take a similar view of the modern world, for that relation of soils and seed illustrates the response to moral issues ordinarily given by the average society of to-day. Only a portion of the world to-day lives by the ideal and it will probably be so always. It is true that the parables of the Mustard Seed and the Seed growing through all its stages—blade, ear, full corn in the ear—indicate his expectation that his Kingdom would grow to such proportions as to draw the children of men from everywhere to its protecting shade, but he fixed his view also upon another world as the final realm of his Kingdom.

Though our safest method is to take short views, there are still good reasons for tracing an upward path even in and through the present agony. Progress in the past has not had free course. There have been many set-backs, and if at present we are perplexed we need not swing from

buoyancy into hopelessness. It is an ancient experience of our race that the finest virtues are often tempered in the furnace of suffering. It behooves us, however, to consider both the evils and the possible good that face us in the present distress.

One of the most obvious of these evils is the rift in Western civilization, the snapping of sympathy which like a wire should carry intelligent messages from nation to nation; and alas! it will long be dissevered. An irreparable loss this, because civilization is enriched by the unique ideas that come and go between each nation and race, and if these do not interchange in free intercourse, the isolation of the people affects injuriously what should be a common possession of mankind. Nor is it a certainty that the unselfish emotions which have been called forth in the belligerent nations will be maintained, for the loss of hundreds of thousands of the idealistic youth of the world is in itself a serious drain on its moral resources.

There is also a profound feeling of insecurity abroad. We have discovered with a great shock that the world is not nearly so honest as we had supposed it to be; nations have suddenly come to trust one another less than they did; and your President has found it necessary to ask you to protect yourselves against the possibility of aggres-

sion. In the society of mankind weapons must be carried for defence as men carried them in pioneer days on this continent or in mediaeval Europe. For a time at least the year 1916 has plunged us into a less hopeful condition than existed in the first decade of the twentieth century.

It may also be that when the war is over such an impetus will have been given to technical efficiency that the world will be turned into a huge workshop. Should the immediate future be absorbed in the replenishing of diminished stocks, the capture of new markets, and the acquisition of commerce, we may readily fall into the disastrous but easy habit of measuring Progress once again in terms of mere industrial success.

To redress the balance these considerations are to be set in the opposite scale. Awful though the agony of Europe is, there are certain advantages that will result from its being so long protracted. Great moral and social changes, if they come without revolution and are to be permanent, require time for their comprehension, and the months or years of enforced co-operation between various grades of society in the prosecution of a common patriotism may create a new mutual understanding in each belligerent nation, especially those that are victors. Burning questions will have cooled off. A universal sacrifice will have

produced a common sympathy, and this sacrifice may win what legislation never would have secured. In the future there may be fewer joltings of the social machine because it will have been placed on new bearings. The world will have won a new admiration for the heroic, for public service, for sacrifice; a new spirit of generosity will have been evoked, and enforced economy, at least in some countries, may usher in days of simplicity in which for a time homely virtues will thrive.*

Assuredly the youth of the countries that I know best are receiving their education in an unprecedented school of discipline. The curious searcher into theories is hustled aside by the eager man who is intent upon discovering his immediate duty in a world of hard realities. Old prejudices are giving way in the strain that has been put upon them and the younger generation are throwing from them many broken dogmas. They are making for themselves their own theories and discovering their own principles at a time when they cannot be satisfied with conventional doctrines. On the youth of the present the end of one age has come crashing down, and, as it happened after the French Revolution so it may happen soon again, they will not debate curiously how true the old dogmas have been but whether they are strong

*Unfortunately these expectations have not yet been realized.

enough to build a new society with. This generation at least will be sincere. They are realizing an ethical purpose by incessant effort, and in this lies the most certain hope of Progress, for it is not transmitted by mere sequence of events from fathers to languid sons with a rich inheritance, but it is a possession of those who for themselves lay the foundations anew by hard work on a solid rock.

Democracy has not yet fully justified itself. Many who have rested their hopes upon it have become disillusioned. They see less freedom of thought than they had hoped for: majorities disregard minorities; corporations have no souls; labour unions cow the individual; beauty is too often scorned; the gentler virtues wither amidst materialistic selfishness. But there is reason to hope that in the furnace of this world-disaster many inveterate evils will perish and that virtues will be tempered as fine instruments for pruning rank or spurious growths.

Though I have never been able to persuade myself that Progress is so assured that we may look forward to an age when evil will have righted itself and the world will be converted into a Paradise by the mere march of events, or that the ultimate goal of our species is a perfected race on this earth as the French philosophers dreamed, yet even through our great agony we get glimpses of

sunshine which promise a brighter day for those who will succeed us.

We men, who in our morn of youth defied
The elements, must vanish—be it so!
Enough, if something from our hands have power
To live, and act, and serve the future hour;
And if, as towards the silent tomb we go,
Through love, through hope and faith's transcendent dower,
We feel that we are greater than we know.

V.

THE WAR AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

WORDS and phrases like coins lose their freshness soon after issue and we accept them as counters in the exchange of conversation or public address without considering their significance, though the coin has this advantage that we do not forget its real value. One of the latest of these phrases, already dulled by usage, is "the new world" as meaning the state of affairs into which we have been brought by the war. But it has been a recurrent habit of each generation of men to talk of a new age. How often we have read in history that the old world has passed away. The prophet and the man of faith cries out, Behold all things are become new. The process of old giving way has usually, however, been without observation; often the new has come in like the dawn and mankind has hardly been awake to welcome its rising. Not so has our new world been ushered in. We are conscious of a great gulf fixed between August 1914 and 1919. Having emerged on the hither shore we look back over a grim sea of troubles—tempests, thick darkness, raging waves, foundering, shrieks, agonies, silent griefs, heroisms untold, rescues magnificent

and often forlorn; struggling up on firm land out of this chaos we are greeting our comrades who have escaped, and we have begun to turn our eyes to our new surroundings to inspect what we have saved from the flood and to make a shelter for ourselves. Unfortunately there are already some who seem to have learned little by what they have gone through. They will be perfectly content, for the time at least, to resume the life where it was broken. They wish to forget the years of war as quickly as possible and to live as though they had never been. There are others of obscurantist spirit who have already sought to find some quite partial explanation of its causes, and who confidently proclaim that if the old world had lived according to the law of their social, economic, or religious creed no such disaster would have befallen the erring sons of men, and they grasp this magnificent opportunity of refurbishing their mottoes, neglected as they affirm at great cost, and now pointed by a very modern instance.

But surely the true attitude is to estimate at its right value what has been saved for us out of the past, and then to turn our eyes to the future with a faith that better days are ahead. We must use salvaged material to the best advantage, and provide a sufficiently ample habitation for the human spirit. Reconstruction is a word which is in

every one's mouth and there is much talking about the size of the task. There are many sides to the problem, though as is natural and proper the first consideration has been given to industrial and economic activities, and in the immediate future this must continue, but we shall fail unless we see to it that our reconstruction is broad enough, and that the needs of the higher nature and mind of man are not forgotten.

The old age was no ignoble period. It was on the whole an age of idealism, full of high hopes, and in default of their realization it took to optimism, to which a fillip was given by the marvellous control that man had acquired over nature in becoming on so many occasions the master of his environment. Unless in the Elizabethan age the English-speaking peoples had never manifested so robust a spirit, and other nations had their share of adventure. Africa is no longer the dark continent; Asia has been traversed and its mysterious recesses unveiled; the Poles have been reached, the depths of the ocean sounded, its currents and winds charted.

There was also the splendid adventure of the human mind repeated again and again as some intrepid, lonely and not seldom misunderstood investigator went forth on a voyage of discovery and brought back wealth which outshines material

riches, so much of which indeed it has created. Men like Darwin, Pasteur, Lister, Kelvin, not to mention a host of others, pursued science without the hope of material gain, absorbed in the high-minded purpose of penetrating a little further into the recesses of man's physical being and his environment. These men were among the noblest idealists of their time, and helped to strengthen the faith in progress which became one of the axioms of the average person.

This scientific advancement resulted also in the accumulation of enormous wealth and the diffusion of a higher standard of comfort. Along with it, however, men began to realize that the organism of society was sadly diseased and that the unhealthy parts should be replaced with "a new social tissue". Out of this conviction sprang a high idealism of reform.

The industrial revolution had brought great evils in its train, "to the possessors of wealth a huge accession of personal power which they naturally felt as an increase in personal freedom. To the wage-earner, however, it seemed loss of freedom". A conception of justice, however, had entered the mind of the wage-earner and "he saw his way to get back, by means of representative institutions some of the power over his own life of which the industrial revolution had deprived his class. Thus

it is the extension of representative self-government from the political to the industrial sphere, and from mere political to industrial and social relationships, which is the dominant feature of the opening of the twentieth century" (Webb).

But further than this, the conception of freedom had so developed in the best minds of the Western world that a new cosmopolitan spirit had come into being; and there was no small endeavour, partly political, partly religious, to serve the subject races of the world; among all English-speaking peoples and the French a wider conviction as to human brotherhood prevailed than at any other period, and the authority of International Law had been acknowledged. As civilized travellers when thrown together on ship-board enter into friendly relations with one another, so the world of men had been enabled by the increase of facilities for transportation and the telegraph to exchange ideas, and "a common standard of right conduct prevailed throughout Christendom to which responsible statesmen tried to adjust their direction of the affairs of State".

But with all this idealism the age was one of confusion. Even the boundaries of Science were not always well defined and theories often strayed into their neighbours' pastures where they had no right to be. Ethical questions were assumed to be

decided solely upon biological hypotheses and natural selection was made to do duty where it could not. Determinism transferred from the individual to the State in Germany blotted out the idealism that was at the heart of our struggles for freedom. Nothing was left but the rainbow on the fall over which the stream of nations and men was being swept irresistibly to some ocean in which all distinctions—restlessness, struggle, hope, attainment—would be obliterated.

Quotations from two distinguished European scholars, one an Italian, the other a Frenchman support this view. M. Guglielmo Ferrero has said: "The intellectual and moral confusion which dominated our epoch and rendered impossible to all peoples action directed to ends defined and regulated by precise principles produced two contrary effects: a frenzy growing more violent every day among the Germans, a perplexity becoming more restless every day among other peoples. The moment was bound to come when this frenzy would burst out in the centre of Europe on the perplexities which surrounded it". The same author continues: "We must never forget, when we wish to understand the modern world and its crises, that Europe has wrought during the last two centuries at two tasks which have no precedent

in history. She has sought to organize society and the State on entirely new principles such as the will of the peoples, liberty, the idea of progress, and she has sought at the same time to populate and to exploit the whole earth with the aid of instruments of a new power, while making of the globe a kind of unity. . . . Men, like epochs which wish to obtain rapid and continual successes, do not like to be too much inconvenienced by very precise principles of morals, æsthetics or logic, which if they are sure rules of conduct are also rigid limitations. A civilization which wished to create with such rapidity so much riches, so many institutions, ideas, doctrines, machines, new nations, was bound to aspire to many things and to detest all too precise systems of belief and rules which would have inconvenienced it, and to adopt standards of measurement sufficiently supple to be able to regard as beautiful and good whatever would favour those interests of its own which were so different and so variable”.

M. Lanson gives a similar characterization of the thought of France in this period: “The capital fact in literature is the bankruptcy of naturalism as represented by the school of Zola which has been succeeded by symptoms of religiosity and a thirst for mystery, at the same time as a breath of evangelical charity and of human solidarity passed

over us and succeeded in melting the hardness of our naturalism. . . . An uneasiness also possessed many souls. Science was accused of not having kept all its promises; it had not deceived the learned but it had not realized the rash illusions of the crowd which had expected from it what it had never boasted that it would bring, absolute certainty and perfect happiness . . . and in its place came a lively sentiment of the brotherhood of man; the Church had detached the bourgeoisie from irreverent Voltairianism and brought it back to its own authority, while another part of neo-Christianity plunged into the path of liberty in the pursuit of relative truth and absolute justice. There was in reality much trouble, equivocation and misunderstanding in the whole situation, and the community was divided up into really two and only two parties, the party of social defence and the party of social revolution”.

This idealistic and yet sadly confused world, however, came to an end in August, 1914, and the issue of the struggle was decided in November, 1918. Two conceptions of life were each jostling, the other for position; and if the Teutonic got the advantage, the idealistic struggles of the nineteenth century in the English-speaking and French worlds would have been fruitless at least for the present. But our victory has removed out of the way the

protagonist whose supremacy would have cowed the aspirations of our part of the world. So far the result has been negative in this sense that only the greatest obstacle has been lifted from the path and now liberty is given the opportunity to realize itself.

The idea of liberty has always fascinated noble minds; it gleams before them as the radiance that glorifies the City of God. This creed may be expressed in the words of Lord Acton: "I consider civil liberty in a genuine, unadulterated sense as the greatest of terrestrial blessings. I am convinced that the whole human race is entitled to it, and that it can be wrested from no part of them without the blackest and most aggravated guilt. The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or musty records. They are written as with a sunbeam in the whole volume of human nature by the hand of the Divinity itself, and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power".

It remains for us to fulfil the idealism of the old world under the freedom which this war has made secure. But we must not delude ourselves into thinking that we fully understand what liberty is. It is another of those current words of which we seldom try to plumb the depths. It is so easily confused with limitless opportunity to think, to

say and to act as we please, and with the craving to live without restraint, which really belongs to the child's stage of growth. Whereas, "the desire for freedom is based upon a belief about the nature and destiny of man, without which freedom becomes a mere word of rhetoric. That belief is that it is every man's business in this life to think what he himself holds to be true and to do what he himself holds to be right, and that unless he does this he is not performing his function as a man at all. You may overawe his mind so that he believes what is true, and you may constrain his will so that he does what is right; but in that case he is a well-trained domestic animal, not a man".*

On this liberty our intellectual life depends. If the German system had prevailed a poisonous gas would have spread over the world and for the time have either killed or diseased every kind of freedom; but the infernal machine which emitted the poison is smashed, the air is clearing, and the western world may henceforth set itself to survey in a purer and more bracing atmosphere the land that lies before it to be possessed as the abode of freedom, its mountains, fertile valleys and plains, its rich watercourses, even its rocks and waste places from which the liberated mind can extract some wealth.

**Lit. Times*, December 18, 1914.

But we shall not reach the efficiency of freedom unless we demand that the intellect be brought into play, and that education, even technical education, be made an instrument for creating as high an intelligence as possible in those who are trained by it. For what is intelligence? It is the ability to comprehend principles, to trace the framework on which the details of the structure of life are fitted, to hold in one's hand the reins which control for our purpose the facts of a situation even when almost intractable. The intelligence therefore is widely exercised by men in most kinds of human activity. Commerce, the factory, the farm, the sea, are schools for its development, for each has its laws, each will yield its results only to him who grasps its peculiar principles; and not the least intelligent men of the community are the leaders of industry, the great financiers, the skilled workmen, the scientific farmers. But by habit we associate the intellectual life more with those whose dealings are with their fellow-men in respect to government, the control of society, moral effort, or who are engaged in problems of history, literature, science or art. Statesmen, judges, teachers, clergymen, scientists, and members of the professions generally are thought of as leading the intellectual life.

The distinction must be drawn between the empirical and the reasoned view of affairs. The farmer who generalizes from the rotation of crops, the mechanic who becomes a thorough if narrow expert, the man of business, the politician, the professional man, the social worker may all be empiricists; they will draw conclusions from too few facts and will apply them to other facts into which they do not fit. This type of man is very effective in a few things. Keep him at these and he does them well, but set him at others and he is at sea. He lacks in intelligence, he does not deduce principles, he works by rule of thumb.

Very often this is to be set down to defective education. The mind has not been trained broadly. It is just in this respect that we must from now on improve the quality of our people. Education must be so organized as to create a widespread intelligence, to provide the opportunity for turning out more than mere workmen at a trade, mere happy-go-lucky men of business, mere routine farmers, mere empiricists in the professions. They must become intelligent citizens who will find exercise for their intellect in their trade, their business, their farm, their profession; who will be able to discern the import of facts, and fortunately for themselves will discover that the intellect develops by using it, and that he who endeavours

to perform the daily task in an intelligent way becomes constantly a more intelligent person. They will also find that their education did not come to an end when they left school; that then, indeed, they had only begun to see that principles underlie all ordered society, its trade, commerce, industrialism, and that any particular branch is linked to many others by those ramifying and interlacing principles which they are learning every day the better to comprehend.

Further, our intellectual life must be developed by estimating the value of the idealisms of the former age, which came to an end in 1914, and preserving their real worth for our new age. But we must try to think accurately if our world is to be freer from confusion than the old world was. The imaginations, dreams, theories, prejudices which men have woven for themselves often envelope the mind and like tenuous webs blur the vision of each age. Our intellectual progress will be measured by the threads that we remove from these webs without adding others of our own weaving. The past assuredly holds authority over us through "the reign of the invincible dead", in the words of Maitland, spirits that are evil as well as good, "invincible", however, only if they are good, and slowly yielding ground where they are evil. But the present also has as potent mysteries as the past, and the real passion of men is concerned with the

ever actual "triumph of the soul over the body, of mind over matter, reason over will, knowledge over ignorance, truth over error, right over might, liberty over authority".

This intellectual life however will not grow of itself nor thrive in wild barrens nor by the dusty road along which the traffic is forever passing. It must be earnestly cultivated. We must come to believe that our thinkers, scholars, men of science, artists deserve a chance to do their best, because they have something of essential value for human society. In Canada and in the United States we have hitherto for the most part estimated greatness by will-power. The tireless organizer, the man of action who is constantly planning and creating some new railway, or merger, or business never lacks admiration, as is quite natural, because this new territory had first to be mastered. But this has led to the perverse demand for men in public life to be forever doing something, making some display of energy, even if it be a blunder. By this time, however, there is less reason for our being in such desperate haste. In fact the wage-earner has secured his demand for shorter hours, and he too therefore has a new opportunity of getting his higher powers into play, and the capitalist now knows that as science is applied to industry and intelligence is used in business the larger will be the

productive output; so neither he nor his men need work at feverish heat. One great lesson of the war should be that if men and women work with intelligence, with a will, and with a common purpose, and if the proceeds are equitably distributed, abundance of time will be left for the cultivation of the higher powers.

Relatively to Europe this continent devotes less time to what may be called the contemplative than to the active functions of life, and this ill proportion as between thought and action results in the average person being too impatient to think long on his problem. America has as pure moral conceptions, as generous idealisms, and as unselfish aims as Europe, often better indeed, but the mind has not been cultivated to sufficient depth, judgments are formed quickly, men act on enthusiasms, they come to decisions prematurely. Hence the country is subject to popular movements that travel like a prairie fire and leave barren plains behind. This is not mere provincialism. Provincialism is the being centred on one's own little circle and judging the whole outside world through one's own windows, and in this sense provincialism is found in the old world as well as in the new. As far as geography goes the average man on this continent of such vast spaces may have by instinct and travel a better knowledge of the world than his

fellow in Europe. But provincialism in a contemplative man is a lesser evil than the assumed breadth of a so-called "large" man based on action without intellect, for the former suffers from his environment, the latter from a defect within himself. When the thoughtful provincialist moves into a wider environment he develops quickly. In fact it is one of the pleasures of the university teacher to watch the growth of a thoughtful boy, who comes from a home where there have been few external advantages, out of his provincialism into the freedom of the educated mind. But the rule-of-thumb man of the world who is always talking about big things, interprets them in terms of energy and has in truth very small understanding of large issues. When the machine is clattering he is absorbed and masterful, when it ceases unless for overhauling he is uninteresting. Mere organization fascinates the hustler. He spreads out a large table of contents but how often the text is disappointingly meagre.

This does not mean depreciation of the man of action, but we must endeavour to secure recognition for the few who cause the many to think, for the poets who dream and the painters who delineate palaces of art so that the many may rejoice in beauty. As far as possible the busy man of action and the academic person should be made

to understand each other, each becoming less engrossed in his own interests. The man in the street will realize that the quiet demanded by the scientist in his laboratory, by the philosopher or the thinker in his library, by the poet or man of letters is not mere idleness, and that an instrument that is to cleave the joints and marrow of life must be sharp and delicately used; he will respect them for their gifts and make possible their cultivation. On his part the academic person must prove himself worthy by endeavouring to free himself from mere conceits and fancies, from languor and idleness and from the subtle epicureanism which might easily beset the well provided intellectual, for if the pure intellect is to influence the will of the work-a-day world it is necessary for it to persuade that world that it both can and will serve it. Only too readily does the academic circle turn itself into an aristocracy and dwell apart distrusted and misunderstood by common folk. That is the hateful spirit in things academic, and it causes the outsider to rejoice over our failures. When he wishes to condemn a policy he brands it as academic, the impossible theorizing of men who never consider that their theories must be tested by and work in a real world. Of course he believes that the academic man does not care if they do not work, because he is constructing for a world as he thinks

it should be, and does not come near enough to the real to know what it actually is. But this aloofness instead of affording the opportunity for the contemplative life is its vice. The true contemplative life should be placed at the disposal of the world. If it is given to the few to enjoy it, its fruits must be devoted to the service of the many, who, when rest from labour becomes the prerogative of all, will need the guidance of the thinkers, scientists, artists, poets, historians, and preachers to enable them also to get the best out of their hours of freedom from daily toil.

One result of the overvaluing on this continent of mere action, as compared with the union of intellect and will, is that the public mind is less independent than we might expect in a people who have made such enormous strides in material progress. It seems probable that there is less intellectual liberty in America than there is in Europe, and that there are fewer who have courage to think for themselves, the reason being that they fear to lose their bearings if they once quit the old ground. So opinions are passed on from man to man, from group to group, and become accepted as correct because they are widely held. But a man of trained and clear intellect may really exhibit a far higher quality of courage than one of

indomitable will and ruthless action. He who follows a clue alone steadily, step by step as it leads him through untrodden mazes, because he knows enough to believe that he will find his way to the light, even if he must plod a weary path round sharp turnings, back upon himself, up steep ways and into slippery depths—that man has high courage, genuine hope and is a true optimist. He is realizing his liberty by forming his own opinions. And such wisdom is justified of her children because, the world is intelligible and in the long run he will reach a goal.

For the sake of our intellectual future we should endeavour to provide a larger place for contemplative activities to supplement our action, our energy, and our manual toil. And this practice of intellectual virtues, such as concentration, grasp of principles, the pursuit of the true, the beautiful and the good must be begun early in life and be maintained throughout. Our children should be taught in school to master their problems for themselves, and so to undertake early the realization of their own freedom, instead of turning for refuge from the hard intellectual task to the much easier exercise of mere energy. The will, moreover, is better trained by accomplishing the difficult intellectual problem than in overcoming mere physical reluctance. So as time goes on the average citizen

will learn to think more for himself and thus enter into liberty. As to this bringing an increase to the interest of life there can be no question. Few men are more fortunate than the scientific expert interested in research who is not bent merely on material results, but retains the youthful idealism as of a noble quest. Intellectual stimulus radiates from him. His keenness, his concentration, his originality, his vision, his discovery, quicken all those who are about him and create an intellectual pleasure, disinterested and elevating, which in itself is one of the purest and most enduring of rewards. On the other hand no one is more uninteresting than the mere man of action in his idle moments, unless it be the quasi-intellectual person who babbles half thought out platitudes which are the fashion of a circle. Both of these have in them the stuff that makes persecutors, because they fear the unknown and do not possess enough courage to form reasoned judgments. They never make discoveries but simply coast in shallow waters, or paddle along from headland to headland afraid to venture upon the deep. In summer weather or when they are near a protecting spit of beach they may seem to be successful, but woe betide them if a heavy gale springs up before they can make harbour; there will be then much wreckage on the shore, while their courageous contemporary rides

the gale in safety far from land, and will make the port he desires in due time.

The war has brought Canada out into the open. Just what is involved in the status given to each of the Dominions at the Peace Conference it is difficult to determine as yet, but at least this action means that each of these Dominions stands as a recognizable unit alongside of Britain, not merely merged in Britain as a part of the Empire. We have now the gaze of the world fastened upon us. Hitherto we have been able to endure the scrutiny with approbation from the world for our efficiency both in military and industrial affairs. No one henceforth will question our ability to organize on a large scale, to grasp essential facts in new situations, to understand the need of self-discipline and to submit to it in order to accomplish a great purpose. It cannot be doubted that the Canadian people are able to hold their own with almost any others in what is ordinarily called efficiency. We have the intelligence and the will-power which lie behind it. Who can fail to believe that we will soon become masters of our environment, that our scientists will prove to be as skilled and reliable investigators of our natural resources as any that are to be found, and that our leaders in industry will be quick to seize their opportunity and apply experience and approved methods to

making the resources which the scientists will lay bare, serve their ends and equip the people with the wealth and comfort which an efficient population in this country should enjoy?

But what will Canada accomplish in the higher realms of intellectual activity? This will be determined in some measure by the returned soldiers who undoubtedly will reinforce the intellectual life of the country. We sent nearly half a million overseas, the majority of them at a very impressionable age, certainly the most intelligent of our youth and those of greatest capacity. Their experience in itself has stirred them to the depths, and it will not be as when in a glass of water the sediment sinks back again to the bottom, but rather as when a salt, beneficent or malign, that has long lain undissolved, is by the shaking made to penetrate the whole contents. They have had to face tremendous issues, to think, to make vital decisions, and in many cases at least they have learned to go to the heart of things.

In addition they have seen much besides war. They have travelled in Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the East. They have seen other civilizations at close range. They have lived with the common people, have tried to talk to them, to understand them, have scrutinized their views of life, and compared their standards of living with

their own. The officers have met the educated classes, and have had in many instances the chance to observe what the old and highly cultivated civilizations of Italy, France and Britain have been able to effect by way of refinement. Having mingled with the best of the older world across the sea they have come home with a richer mind and an ambition for self-culture aroused by contact with other, if in many ways no better, types of education.

These men were not ordinary travellers nor curiosity seekers, who pick up here or there bits of information and before whom the panorama of travel passes so quickly that as in dissolving views each scene obliterates the last. The ordinary traveller sees the land. These soldiers met the people. They were earnest men trained to observe and who had time both to scrutinize and to ponder. Therefore the returned men will themselves constitute a very large part of our new intellectual development, as they have been brought under the influence of two of the most potent incentives for progress, an earnest purpose and a varied, suggestive and rich environment. They have realized also that the efficiency of free peoples will in the long run outdistance the efficiency of the German type, and that the finest intellectual culture

is based upon a widespread self-imposed discipline, in a word that the true intellectual life of any people rests on freedom. Already this opinion as to the influence of the returned soldier is supported by the character and academic interest of the students who have resumed their studies in the universities. Almost uniformly they are reported to be intense and more than usually intelligent, eager and able to grasp essentials.

The old world to which the obscurantist would fain return is dead. As General Smuts has said: "The tents are struck, the camels are loaded, once again the caravan of humanity is on the move". Our duty lies clear before us who are the heirs of the idealism of the pre-war days. We must complete the work of those elect souls who were the choicest product of that old world, and who in their prime did what in them lay, even unto death, to make our new world possible. We must cultivate the mind of our people enriching the old soil and ever breaking new land. Wide tracts await the husbandman and no one can tell certainly where the richest portions are to be discovered. In whatever circle of the community ability is found it should be carefully developed. The State must see to it that high endowment is sought out in school days and at the cost of the public is given the fullest opportunity, because

second-best persons picked out by haphazard and trained in a second-rate way mean second-rate development even as regards material things. Further, the safety of our democracy depends upon leaders in every walk of life who combine the trained mind with disciplined control. And of these there are so few that we cannot afford to lose any. May we be delivered from men of powerful and stubborn will but narrow vision, who are hurried into action by ill-considered popular enthusiasms. May we be directed by those who can think, who have intelligence trained to see, and who have courage to act boldly because they can judge with more precision than their fellow-citizens how far and in what direction their policies will carry them.

THE CLAIM OF THE BIBLE UPON THE EDUCATED READER.

IN the reiteration of the demand for moral education one of the most universal suggestions as to method is the study of the Bible in the schools. It is assumed that if it were given a fair chance there would soon be a marked development in the character of the children. Few will deny that the Bible has had a beneficent effect upon the civilization and character of those peoples who have enjoyed the advantage of a translation in their own tongue which is accepted as a national classic and is in common use. Not only has it not lost its hold upon the advancing world, but more than ever the hopes and testimony of psalms and prophecies rejoice the heart of man, and the gospels and the simpler portions of the epistles are the delight of pure minds and appeal as a standard for conduct. Fortunately also for the spiritual health of mankind the profoundest and most enduring parts of these books are so plain that the wayfaring man may read and understand their fundamental truth. Therefore it is quite a reasonable hope that if children are introduced to the Bible and given the opportunity to learn its simplest and most universally human portions, they will catch its spirit and prove

anew that "the vision of God is the inspiration of man".

But alongside this reasonable expectation that a wider knowledge of the Bible on the part of the children in the schools will result in a development of moral character, is the depressing fact that to-day in some parts especially of this new world most fantastic theories, based upon literalistic interpretations of the words of the Bible, have increasing vogue among people, who, as far as the letter of it goes, are acquainted with it very well indeed. They are most diligent in searching the Scriptures, but too often they extract what is positively injurious to mental and moral health. Views of the constitution of the world and of human society constructed out of the words of the Bible by these literalists sweep over the country like wildfire and unfortunately they leave it barren. Nor are these views confined to ignorant people in remote parts; they abound in towns and cities where the opportunities for education are widespread. Wealth itself often seems to grasp at faddism to occupy its mental emptiness.

It is therefore evident that the mere teaching of the letter of the Bible in schools is not a full and sufficient guarantee that a finely rounded out moral character will be produced in the people, though this fact is to be thrown into the favourable scale,

that fads and 'isms are not derived from those parts of the Scriptures which set forth the Divine nature and the depth of the human heart in such universally intelligible passages as are taught to children in school in any ordinary book of selections. They are rather conjured up from out-of-the-way texts, or are survivals of disappearing theories which have a tenacious hold upon some types of character. If the finest parts of the Bible are taught to children they will acquire almost an instinct for its real essence, and they will be less likely on coming to mature years to give undue importance to verses and injunctions which may be mere remnants of an old social or religious order, or to adopt superficial interpretations which are discordant with its prevailing moral tone. All the more need therefore that, if instruction in the Bible is to be given in school, the selections should be made with the greatest care by thoroughly competent persons. Safety lies in having the minds of the youth saturated with its purest thought.

But our present purpose is not to linger upon the use of the Bible in the common-school, important though that is, but upon the claim it has for more thorough study by the educated classes. The minute verbal investigation of the Bible practised by devout people has too often resulted in perverse or even fantastic literalism. They have their

reward in an intense conviction that they have discovered the truth, which they spread with zeal, but a great gulf is fixed between them and the progressive mind of the world. Naturally they comfort themselves by believing that they have been served heirs to the Corinthians to whom Paul wrote, "God chose the foolish things of the world that he might put to shame them that are wise"; but when by a specious assumption they apply this to themselves, they overlook the fact that to decide the application of the parallel they must be sure as to whom the Apostle, if he were alive to-day, would call "wise" or "foolish".

It is therefore important in the interests of the community that there should be a large and well informed body of people who can serve as interpreters of the true meaning of the Bible and diffuse abroad its essential teaching. To take Science as an illustration.

Only the few can have more than a superficial knowledge of the results of science, but it is becoming more evident every day than there should be a large constituency competent to understand and to interpret to the average folk these results in so far as they affect their welfare. The great investigator must get his discoveries, or at least a sense of their value, so popularised that they will

have their due effect on national development. Usually he cannot do this. His first duty is to investigate. He needs the interpreter who fulfils the most useful function of creating or discovering a large body of intelligent opinion which he can make sympathetic to the work of the scientist. During the recent war, for example, loud expression was given repeatedly to the complaint that there were no outstanding scientists in the British Government at a time when science was winning the war; though it would appear that there was more petulance than reason in the outcry, for the desperate condition was to be remedied not by putting an expert chemist into the cabinet but by having as administrators highly intelligent men who, appreciating the essential function of science if victory was to be achieved, would call to their aid from every quarter as advisors those who knew most about the various branches of science. Probably, however, the administration would have proved more capable if there had been a larger number of its members who had been given a thorough, though not necessarily an expert, training in science. But behind the administration again was the need of a large body of well educated citizens who knew enough of the meaning and power of science to demand of their Government that they should call in the scientific experts, and act sympathetically when the Govern-

ment sought to carry into effect what the scientists advised to be done.

Such a body of intelligent opinion would not be created merely through the rudimentary instruction in science given in the common school, for it does not go far enough; but that instruction in itself is valuable and on it as a foundation would be erected the higher grade of scientific education, which without being that of the expert enables those who have been so trained to understand the methods, and results of science. Occasionally the advanced scientist is so frankly contemptuous of all that the average person can learn of his subject in the school that he questions whether it should be taught before the University is reached; but this would be a fatal policy for science itself, for its future depends upon a widely diffused appreciation of its methods and purpose on the part of the people on whom the expert must rely for material support. If, however, the mental equipment of the average man who never gets beyond the school stage is admittedly an important factor in the development of that wide intelligence upon which progress depends, no less essential are the middlemen, as it were, of science, consisting of those who have been trained in the University but to no high degree of attainment. These will become the leaders of the average folk who make up the bulk of the population, and

from them the expert must draw his chief support. Through them his discoveries are interpreted and are made a part of the intellectual inheritance or contribute to the material welfare of the people as a whole. They apply science to industry and the arts of life.

What is true of Science is true also in regard to education in the truths of Religion, and indeed it is more important for the conduct of life, because the moral ideals of a community are quite as immediately affected by religious belief as its general welfare is by the results of science. This can be abundantly illustrated by the sweeping changes in social practice that have again and again followed in the wake of revivals of religious enthusiasm. Many of these changes were not in themselves moral, nor did they leave the community with a purer character. Morals frequently lag behind enthusiasm, and the tidal waves of religious emotion do not necessarily leave a rich soil when they subside; often only a salty deposit. The moral progress of the community is contingent upon its possessing a large number of intelligent leaders who are able so to direct the enthusiasm of true religion as to perpetuate the highest quality of morals and thereby to steady average people, who will almost unconsciously absorb from them through the established

institutions such standards of life and conduct as are consistent with the purest Christianity.

This has been the history of the Christian religion from its origin. It was first accepted by the choicest of the Hebrews who by training and inheritance were the moral aristocrats of that world. A remarkable society adorned with virtues, new in quality and intensity rather than in essence, interpreted their faith to the common people who listened to them gladly. Thereafter the Gospel made its appeal to the proselytes, who, though not accepting the full obligations of Judaism, worshipped Jehovah in the synagogues. Outside of Judaism the proselytes were probably the finest soil, and its ethical richness prevented the new seed from running to an ecstasy or non-moral enthusiasm. When the Gospel passed to the untutored pagan with his crude morals, it became necessary to enlighten his intelligence by teaching him a code of conduct, and to choose a body of well educated men who would protect the churches against invasions of multifarious errors, which for the most part were dangerous by reason of their immoral accompaniments rather than as intellectual heresies.

The situation to-day demands the interpreter because the Bible is not a simple book. By its nature it cannot be so. It is the outcome of ancient

civilizations which were very different in their customs from ours. The Old Testament is the classic literature of the Hebrew people during the period of their creative power; the New Testament is a group of writings which record the beginnings of a new phase of what was adumbrated in the Old, also in a world so remote from us that we find difficulty in realizing it. Apart from the inspiration which average people get from the illuminating flash of individual verses, there are in the New Testament arguments and religious truths which are intelligible only as against a background of contemporary religious thought and practice. In fact the epistles were written to people who were themselves in a new situation in the midst of an old world, and unless the reader knows something about the old world he cannot comprehend the new situation, nor the import, the masterly handling of new problems and the unique religious and moral teaching of these books. This is one of the demands of epistolary writing which arose in a period of controversy. The same holds even of the gospels, especially the fourth which on every page has traces of the response made to contemporary views by those who preached the Gospel at the end of the first century in countries bordering on the Eastern Mediterranean, and it is especially true of the Apocalypse of which large sections have

only of late years become somewhat more intelligible, as the language and symbolism of Jewish apocalyptic are better known.

Such interpretative information need not be confined, as it has been hitherto, almost exclusively to those who have taken a regular training in theology. It has been put within the reach of intelligent people in many excellent publications, and should become a matter of interest to those especially who have been trained in literature and history. Hitherto, however, to our regret be it said, surprisingly few even of those who are not without interest in religion, have had any accurate knowledge of the enormous change that has come to pass in the study of the Old and New Testaments during the past generation. That study has been revolutionized by the introduction of scientific method. Every educated person is of course familiar with the phrase "Higher Criticism", sinister as it sounds in the ears of many who know little of its real character, just as he is with the phrases "Evolution" and "Natural Selection"; but few perhaps, except the technically trained in the theological disciplines realize that the first phrase as truly as the latter marks an elevation in the progress of thought, from which the modern mind, having once got a more accurate view of the history of man in his environment, cannot recede to its former more limited

outlook. If the study of the Bible were taken as seriously as that of English literature, there would soon be created a body of opinion which would render nugatory the fears of insufficiently trained men in the pulpit, who needlessly alarm the average folk as to the danger to their religion that lurks in reasonable investigation, and as a result there would be such a common agreement upon the value and meaning of the Scriptures, that they could be taught in the schools intelligently and without arousing alarm by touching some nerve in the individual's theological system. When the Bible is seen to be what it really is and is taught as its essential character demands, its religious and moral worth will be immensely enhanced, it will exercise a powerful influence upon the life of children, and the dread of controversy will become like some far-off evil dream of a by-gone night.

The study of the Scriptures will appeal to a much larger educated constituency than the Latin and Greek classics can ever do, especially in the New World, though it may be that in university trained circles in Britain, apart from the theologians, there are still more who understand and turn to the Latin and Greek authors than who read the New Testament with a like appreciation and comprehension. Perhaps this condition will not continue long, because the relative importance of

the Latin and Greek classics is lessening, though their influence in the formation of literary judgment must remain as commanding as ever, and our civilization must continue to turn to that brilliant but fleeting period of the Greek World which we call the Classical, for its standards of beauty, purity in language, sincerity, depth of thought and range of human experience. If our standards of literature and thought are to be maintained Greece cannot be forgotten, and the average man will become increasingly indebted to the decreasing number of scholars, who will act as interpreters and will provide the material out of which poets will weave the tissue of their imagination for the delight of those who know no Greek, and from which the thinkers will draw creative ideas to establish their modern convictions on politics, social affairs, philosophy and religion.

The Bible cannot be neglected by anyone who is interested in those profound questions of religion and conduct which are frequently put and wonderfully sifted in the classics of Greek and Latin literature. One often asks whether Aeschylus, Sophocles, Socrates and Plato would not have recognized spiritual kinsmen in the prophets, psalmists and poets of the Old Testament, and whether Jesus would not have thrown His spell over them. This was the opinion of the Fathers

of the Early Church who still lived in the atmosphere of Hellenism and who may be supposed to have understood the philosophy of Greece; they thought of Greek philosophy as a preparation for the Christian faith. Those who search for the deepest things in the Greek poets and philosophers will recognize the truth of this connection. Aeschylus saw far into the meaning of things, and he was no less sure than the Hebrew prophets that the government of the world is righteous. Sophocles proclaimed his belief in the rule of Divine law. The prophetic daimon of Socrates constituted him almost a twin brother of the Hebrew prophet, and the thought of Plato is so Christian that it revives again in the fourth gospel, in the letters of Paul and in the epistle to the Hebrews.

The classical scholar has been too narrow in his range. He has confined his attention too exclusively to the period that ended with Demosthenes, isolating the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. as though nothing led up to them and little of value followed them. Like a lake of exquisite beauty embosomed amid majestic hills but very difficult of access, that age satisfied the tastes of those who had the skill and the strength to penetrate to its exclusive region, and they gave no heed to the stream of Hellenism that flowed from it. That stream was, however, in fact as we know to-day,

for centuries a living volume of thought and on its banks flourished the verdure of rich civilizations. It is to Hellenism indeed that we owe most of what we possess from the classical period, because through it the world became the heir of the treasures of Ancient Greece. The Hellenists of the last century B.C. and the first A.D. interpreted to the Romans the Greek classics which but for them would have been lost. Moreover the revival of Greek learning at the Renaissance was due again to the Hellenistic spirit, which having saturated Christian theology, ritual and institutions became the source of an apostolic, if unsaintly, succession of scholars who, when in the process of events the channels were cleared, led their generation to drink of the released stream.

Within the last few decades a flood of light has been thrown upon the Hellenistic world by explorers who have deciphered inscriptions, recovered authors and excavated even the trivial records of the daily life of the common people. We know more of the tongue they spoke, the common language, or Koiné as it is called, having been brilliantly illustrated by the discoveries of Papyri, often mere bill-heads or business letters, which are being constantly made. It was the language of the common people in the eastern section of the Roman World but was also widely spoken over

a large portion of the west. There were two types, that of the common people in every day speech, and the literary style used by the educated classes, the *lingua franca* of that age. This literary language shows many important variations from the use and style of the classical period, but its finest exponents such as Polybius and Plutarch hold an assured place in the world's literature.

The study of the Koiné or Common Tongue has been of great value for the interpretation of the New Testament. It is a striking fact that, except for one or two instances, these books were written in the everyday speech that people spoke, and are to be interpreted not by the standards of classical Greek, as was formerly done, but by the meanings of words and the syntactic constructions which are abundantly illustrated in the language then in vogue. "They were books not for the educated but average folk. Primitive Christianity was both alien to culture and without literary instinct. The oldest letters were actually letters not literature. The 'logia' and the gospels served the purpose of edification and instruction. They lack at the beginning the decisive mark of literature, the publishers' and printers' technical care". This remark is on the whole correct, though both the Gospel of Luke and the Epistle to the Hebrews reveal fine literary instinct and appreciation of contemporary

culture, and one reason for the permanent power of the New Testament is just the fact that its writers out of their burning faith speak without artifice in the most direct way using the words and style which their readers would most readily understand.

There are traces in the New Testament of literary forms which were in prevalent use in the Hellenistic age, not because the authors consciously adopted these, as a writer to-day for example chooses an essay style, but simply as the method of expression which was everywhere employed. The highways of that world that led from city to city were thronged with travellers among whom no uncommon figure was the itinerant philosopher, disputant or preacher of a new cult or mystery religion, or the purveyor of news, theories and fads, who in many respects served his day as the newspaper press does ours. The popular address, technically called the *Diatribē*, was very common, and the preachers of early Christianity used it, and they would at first be distinguishable from others not by the form of their address but by the faith and substance of their message. Such a scene as that of Paul on the Areopagus of Athens could often be paralleled. He got no following in that city, possibly because his moral earnestness was rather *de trop* in a society curious and academic which believed that enthusiasm was a breach of propriety.

By contrast his message was warmly welcomed in the nearest city of Corinth, a materialistic and voluptuous seaport indeed, but with more heart than the overwise and learned Athens.

In view of what has been said the classical student has no exclusive training which fits him to interpret the New Testament. In fact the Bible, and especially the Old Testament, can be wonderfully well understood in a translation, and any intelligent person may with little effort appreciate all the results of scholarship that he need use. These are set forth in such a great variety of more or less popular publications that there is no excuse for being ignorant of the classics of primitive Christianity as well as of the Hebrew religion. The same canons of interpretation hold as for any other literature, the essential factors being judgment in estimating the intrinsic evidence of words and phrases, penetration sure and keen into the mind of an author or a class of people, and ability to comprehend a historic situation, all of which of course involves broad and sound knowledge of the times.

Very soon after the Gospel was preached in a new tongue parts of the New Testament were translated into it for the use of the young churches, and we have dating from early in the second century versions in Latin and Syriac, shortly afterwards in

Egyptian, and in other languages successively. But of all versions it may safely be said that those done into English have had the most influence upon the life of their people. Our Bible is a national classic, and the process whereby the translations have each absorbed and superseded most of what was best in its predecessors is an important chapter in the history of English literature. The latest version authorized and official, if the word may be used, is that of the New Testament issued in 1881 and the Old Testament in 1885, and as a whole newly edited by the American revision committee in 1901. This final American revision with its comparatively few changes, based on the use of the English revision for twenty years, is the finest translation of the Bible in any language, and though many will continue to use the Authorized version of 1611 because of the familiarity of the words and its wonderful rhythm and grace, no one who wishes to get an accurate comprehension of the Bible can afford to neglect the magnificent aid of the Revised Version furnished by the highest scholarship of the two sections of the English-speaking world. The more widely this newest version is read in the schools and homes of the people who use our tongue in the British Empire and the United States, the more strongly will it unite us in those religious and moral sentiments which constitute the most essential

elements in our common civilization, in the defence and maintenance of which we hope to stand side by side as heralds and patrons of peace in virtue of our combined strength.

These versions, the result of minute and long continued work, have put us in the debt of some of the finest scholars that Britain and America have produced. The prefaces of the English revision should be carefully read for they throw much illumination on the Scriptures. Comparatively short though they are, they set forth the primary principles of the translators and should be kept in mind by all intelligent readers. The first necessary step in the Revision of the New Testament was the production of a text as the basis for the translation, and fortunately the Revisers were able to enter into the labours of very eminent men in the comparatively new study of Textual Criticism, who in this special field have displayed scientific research and literary acumen such as have not been surpassed in any other branch of scholarship, much of the best work having been done by English-speaking scholars, Bentley, Mill, Tregelles, Scrivener, Abbott, Westcott and Hort. Many new manuscripts had been discovered within the century and a rich abundance of material in uncials, cursives, versions and quotations lay at hand. But no less important was the creation of a process for estimating the value of the evidence afforded by this

material, with the result that a text was provided by the Revisers so reliable that it may be accepted as sufficient by ordinary readers. Apart from a few passages no doubt lingers as to the words that the final authors of the books of the New Testament intended to employ. Unfortunately the Hebrew text of the Old Testament is not in nearly such a satisfactory condition and in a good many instances is only conjectural, but these difficulties may be left to scholars.

Textual Criticism, though it is important, has been much less in the eye of the average person than what is called by contrast to it "Higher Criticism," but the latter is only an extension of the same spirit of scientific investigation, and indeed there are places where it is difficult to determine when the line that separates the one from the other has been crossed. Higher Criticism deals in the main with the interpretation of the text and the origin and character of the books. The application of the method of higher criticism, or historical interpretation based on a sure procedure similar to that which is used in the interpretation of any literature whatever, has shed a flood of light upon the Bible. It has in some sense made it a new book vastly increased in power. Instead of the beauty, originality and moral grandeur having been dimmed by the advance of scientific thought, they have

been clarified by the application of this modern method, and the uniqueness of the Bible as a classic of religion remains unchallenged. The outstanding result of the higher criticism as applied to the Old Testament is that now for the first time the growth of the religious and moral history of the Hebrew people is understood. It is clear wherein they differed from other peoples. The unique character of prophecy and its fundamental position in Hebrew religion have been demonstrated, as also the influence of poet and even humanist, and finally the role of the Law, which, as Paul said, was a Schoolmaster to bring them to their Messiah. All this has been so frequently explained in brief and popular outlines of Hebrew literature and history, that there is no excuse for intelligent people not having a general understanding of the background on which each book of the Old Testament must be interpreted.

Only secondary in importance is the period between the Old and the New Testaments in which lay some of the most heroic years of Hebrew history. There are to be found the beginnings of Pharisaism, itself a revival of pure religion, as well as its degeneracy and despair, when losing hope for the present world it cast its dreams for the future into literary forms known as apocalyptic. The Jewish literature of this period is an extremely

valuable, in fact an essential, commentary on the New Testament, and fortunately it has been placed within easy reach of the English reader. Besides many outlines there is the monumental edition in English of Jewish apocalypses and pseudepigraphic writings by Dr. R. H. Charles of Oxford and his associates.

Moreover Hebrew literature and history should appeal to all those who realize the necessity of having a sympathetic understanding of the life of the Jewish people. To-day they are occupying this new world, especially our large cities, in such numbers as to create difficult social and educational problems. It would be extreme to claim that a knowledge of the history of the Jews would solve these problems, but they require the earnest thought of our most intelligent and broad-minded people, and insight into the literature and history in which the Hebrews take pride and which have contributed to make them what they now are, may at least enable us to understand better the mind of this indefatigable competitor who is still regarded as a stranger in the land.

Quite the most fascinating and important results of criticism are those relating to the Synoptic and the fourth gospels, for they take us back to the greatest Figure of the World, Jesus Himself. By the patient labours of reverent and sincere

scholars, the lineaments of his character and the quality of his teaching have been made so plain that he has won new power over the heart of the world. It has been shown of late that his teaching in Galilee especially centred in the message of the Kingdom of God. In making a new use of this conception, the roots of which go far back into the Old Testament, Jesus took the best out of the Old and gave it rich fulfilment embodying in it his moral ideal for human society. It was ethical rather than doctrinal, religious rather than theological. To understand his teaching the term must be traced through the Old Testament and the intervening period of Jewish apocalyptic literature into the gospels. This process will be most salutary, as it will show how little ground there is in history for some of the interpretations based on detached sayings or verses which have given rise to unreal views of life. The teaching of Jesus as to God and man set forth in his gospel of the Kingdom has never been so accessible as it is to-day, and it is probable that the world is in process of the great discovery, possibly forced upon it by the tribulations and disillusionment of the present, that it has never in truth given heed to his message. It may discover, too, that this has not been entirely its own fault, but that the Church's authorized leaders have continued too

long to interpret his gospel in terms of doctrines which have outlived their vitality by centuries. Now, however, the enlightened Christian scholars are rapidly repairing this error, and probably there is no one religious theme on which more capable thinkers have written in recent years than the idea of Jesus as to the Kingdom. It will be hereafter the fault of intelligent people themselves if they continue to hold vague ideas as to what Jesus taught. This is no question of abstruse theological doctrines, but of concrete practical thought on religion. Not only the man of devout spirit who by instinct turns to Jesus, but the humanist who is interested in the deepest problems of man and in his moral aspirations, is bound to give heed to the gospels. Both need competent guides into those religious ideas which have had a long history, and the mere classical scholar in studying the New Testament must supplement his knowledge with that of Hellenism. A man's own insight and moral appreciation will not carry him all the way.

For so many generations the appeal has been made to the Bible as a storehouse of doctrine that even educated people still look upon the epistles as being in the main an armoury for theologians. But this is to ignore the fact that they are human documents of the first order, and the most influential letters that were ever written. Those of the

Apostle Paul are also the self-revelation of one of the dominant personalities of history, a man who is to be ranked alongside Moses. He was endowed with a keen intellect directed by a resolute and untiring will; though relentless in his logic he showed the tact and sense of proportion of a great statesman in his practical judgments on the affairs of his churches. Proud of his Roman citizenship he was inspired by the thought of a possible capture of the capital of the world by his gospel. These new hopes obliterated some of his narrower beliefs, and fired his imagination in his later life with the vision of a Church conquering the present world instead of surmounting in a few years the ruins of a collapsing universe. No one who knows his second letter to the Corinthians, or that to the Philippians, can doubt that he had a tender heart susceptible to deep wounding by the disloyalty of his friends. His letters reveal also one of the greatest of the world's genuises, one for whom religion without morality was dead, for whom faith was only made complete in love, a mystic whose life was hidden in the Divine, but who walked with a sure step in common day.

In a very real sense Paul was the second founder of Christianity. The new religion was met shortly after it had been set forth upon its way in the pagan world by two errors which threatened either

to maim or to poison it. The first was the recrudescence of the prevalent view of religion as a system of law which Jesus had shattered though he lost his life in his victory: the second was a commingling of pagan and Jewish theories as to the nature of God and the world generally called Gnosticism. If the first error had prevailed Christianity would have become merely another Jewish sect; if the vain theories and imaginations of Gnosticism had been successful Christianity would have had its moral nature poisoned at its heart.

Recent investigations into the religious life of Hellenism have illuminated many parts of the New Testament, and fortunately the most valuable results have been put within easy reach in such works as those of the Belgian Cumont, or Sir Samuel Dill's "Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius", or especially in the great dictionary on "Religion and Ethics", edited by Dr. James Hastings. Long before the new religion had come into being, Jewish communities in the Western Dispersion had absorbed many of the most potent conceptions of the contemporary pagan world together with their new vocabulary, and from Judaism some of these conceptions passing into early Christian ritual found a permanent home. Words there are in the New Testament which now

we know were "in the air", and would suggest to the first readers a train of thought familiar to them in their own environment, but quite unintelligible to the casual modern reader. The word "mystery", for example, (Col. I:25-27 and elsewhere) is as it were the peak of a submerged island round the base of which at great depths discoveries are being made of the life that two millenia ago was lived upon its surface; and these discoveries will have highly interesting results as regards the influence of the "mystery" cults upon rising Christianity.

To some the epistle of the Hebrews is so hard to understand as to be almost repellent, but in truth it is one of the world's most beautiful and profound treatises on religion. Unlike Paul its author is contemplative and poetic, delighting to trace through the veil of the visible the more real though unseen world beyond. He is of the class to which Plato and Wordsworth belong, but is not without robust practical judgment. Never has the place of ritual and the symbolic in religion been so powerfully determined. It is the epistle for clear-sighted men who, in a day like the present when even religious leaders are bewildered in the entanglement of ritual and doctrines, will find in it a sure word to lead them through the maze of forms and symbols and set the spirit free. To change the

figure we see in this epistle the expanding life of Christianity emerging from its chrysalis.

The other writers of the New Testament are easier to follow. The author of the fourth gospel and the first epistle of John like the other apostolic Christians was a man of very determined convictions—with him it was “either—or”, with little shading. In his full faith he loves passionately and hates strongly. He knows less than Paul does how to become all things to all men that he may win some. Peter is kindlier, and though he too has suffered much he is still full of hope. The wise and sententious James has a Jewish humanism warmed by Christian faith.

The New Testament is a unity it is true, but it is also a collection of religious masterpieces by representative persons and characters, who show the reaction of their common faith upon themselves as well as upon communities in the great centres of early civilization, when first they had to adjust themselves to the new life which their faith created in them. Against the problems and thought of that world the new religion had to take shape, and by studying the process at its origin we understand more clearly than at any other later period the essence of our faith. The educated person, by learning to distinguish the spirit from the form, and the abiding truth from the word or

symbol in which it was embodied as the passing language of a period, will get a much deeper appreciation of the value of his faith. He will have entered a pure atmosphere and will run less danger of infection from theories which, being based on the letter, really weaken the moral and religious life.

An appeal for a more competent study of the Scriptures by educated people need not depreciate the function of the Church in her prophetic and priestly ministries, by means of which she creates and stimulates faith, keeps her members in touch with divine mysteries, awakens and feeds the spirit of devotion and inspires them by present experience with the hope of yet richer endowments. But the Church has always possessed another function, that of teaching. To-day this teaching is not confined to the ordained ministry. The results of scholarship and religious insight are at the disposal of all intelligent people, especially of that great and increasing body who think for themselves. Men and women who have sifted the evidence and can understand where genuine faith ceases and mere symbol or tradition begins, are the hope of a healthful Christian democracy. They will do much to modify issues and to prevent others from being swept off their feet by catchwords supposedly religious and moral but not really so. If, as we

believe, the State has a moral purpose, that purpose will become at once surer and clearer if there is a large class of enlightened religious men and women who are able to distinguish what is genuinely Christian from what is so only in appearance. Public opinion should be created not by the multitude but by the intelligent. It is true that this is only one side of religion. Where faith is dead morals grow jejune and conventional. But there is also a place for discipline and instruction. Experience and intelligence are required to define the limits of morality, and to restrain enthusiasm in such channels that it will provide power instead of breaking its bounds and carrying destruction to the well-tilled fields which have at great cost been reclaimed from ignorance.

To-day as never before such questions as these are being pressed home upon thoughtful people: How can Christian morality be maintained in the modern State? What has essential Christianity to say with regard to war, socialism, capital, marriage? What is its message with regard to progress and the destiny both of the race and of the individual? Such questions form the themes of popular novels, and are discussed, usually without much insight, by essayists in magazines. Indeed the vogue of some stories or problem-novels is depressingly indicative of the low grade of the

religious intelligence of even the educated classes. Half thought out results, crude both as to the statement of the problems and their solutions in comparison with those given long ago in the Old or the New Testament, are accepted for the time at least as affording some relief, whereas if the treasures at our disposal were known these substitute solutions would be regarded as merely curious and interesting divagations.

Of recent years the Bible is being taught in our universities and colleges by those who are able to set it before students in its true light, and who do for it what the professor of Greek or Italian does for the classics of his language, interpreting it with the same sympathy for its import as is required in the teacher of any literature if he is to be successful. Such courses in Bible literature should be especially valuable for those who intend to enter the teaching profession, and who will be among the most influential interpreters of the Bible to the world, because they will create an appreciation for it in the children, and gradually will educate a large body of sound opinion in the community, to whose moral judgment the issues of democracy may be entrusted with confidence. Any one who knows the Bible can have no doubt as to the effect of such study upon character. It will harmonize the ethical ideals of the people, and at a time when the

churches are craving a unity which they seem powerless to effect, the community itself may come to possess a moral consciousness which may be the saving even of religion.

VII

THE CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES AND THE WAR.*

CANADA holds an honourable position in regard to higher education. Of her population of 8,000,000 there were before the war 14,000 students in attendance at the score of universities and colleges of the Dominion, in most of which women are registered on equal terms with men. Though the enrolment in some of these institutions is small, the leading universities with great professional faculties rank among the largest and best equipped in the Empire. Not the least hopeful promise for the future is to be discerned in the rapid and healthful growth of the recent provincial universities of Western Canada. The people of these Provinces have begun to take pride in their own institutions; and, though for some years to come parents who graduated in the East will continue to send their sons and daughters to their old university, the real needs of the West will soon be provided for at home. Already the Legislatures have made a good beginning in the financial aid that they have given to their own creations; but Canada has still a long way to go both in the East

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and the West before the universities are equipped as are those of the United States by reason of the liberality and foresight of their legislators.

The students of the Canadian colleges are drawn from all circles of the people and from all sections of the provinces; but, as in Scotland, the majority come from homes of modest comfort in the towns, villages, and countryside, and require to earn sufficient to put themselves through, or to supplement their allowance, though the rapid growth of wealth in the cities has been reflected in the increasing numbers of undergraduates who are supported entirely by their parents. The universities are thoroughly representative of Canadian opinion, especially that of the energetic, solid, honest old stock, but in the West also of the best immigration which has come in recent years from Europe or from the United States. Convictions which take a strong hold of the students soon react upon the country as a potent if silent influence. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance that from the earliest moment the meaning of the war was clearly set before, and quickly grasped by, the youth of the universities. Presented with clearness and earnestness the Allies' case made its appeal to their generous natures; and through them, as they came to a decision, it confronted their parents as a vital issue; and they, in their

turn, were undoubtedly influential in creating a right sentiment throughout the country. The effect of this academic awakening was felt in the political crisis of December, 1917; for the enlistment of the choicest of our students who came from the best homes in the Dominion moulded opinion in their neighbourhood, and determined many to exercise their vote in such a way as to enable the Dominion to continue in the struggle and to render effective the sacrifice which her youth had so nobly made.

The universities fulfilled their function worthily, and justified all that was confidently claimed for them throughout the years of peace as being creators of character and sources of ideals for service on behalf of the public by whom they are supported. Never were divergent standards of education so thoroughly tested as in the recent war, on the side the Teutonic view as to what the State must demand from the individual, and, on the other, the Anglo-Saxon and French conception that the primary aim in education is the formation to high purpose of what is universal and truly human in each person. Our type has stood the test well. It has produced intelligent people who can grasp quickly for themselves and take action upon the essential facts in a great crisis. Instead of education having produced irresolution, in those who

have been trained to see both sides of a question, it has purified the eyes of the heart and given sight to the will. No section of the community contributed a larger share of their best than the universities. The initial response of the students, their behaviour in the unprecedented horrors of actual warfare, their record as officers and the distinctions that were won on the field, were a renewed testimony to the value of higher education as serving to give intelligent direction to the common human virtues of courage and self-sacrifice.

One result of our experience was that our voluntary recruiting made a disproportionately large draft upon the young men of the universities, more of whom might to the future advantage of the country have been kept until they were twenty years of age and had completed a portion of their academic training, so that on their return they might more easily have resumed their studies and been the sooner prepared for their civil duties. 'An interruption between the school and the university tends to become permanent. A careful system of official drafting, wisely using the splendid readiness of our youth to do their duty wherever they might have been asked to serve, would have produced better results for the country.

In order to form a just estimate of the work done in the war by the universities and colleges of

the Dominion it must be borne in mind that the long established institutions of the East have rolls of graduates from which large numbers enlisted; but the Western universities are of quite recent origin, except Manitoba, whose oldest graduates are now beyond the active military age. Out of the 180 graduates of Saskatchewan, for example, one of the newest universities, 76 had enlisted by August, 1917. It is difficult to obtain complete information, but it may be safely affirmed that by the end of the war 16,000 members of the universities, including graduates, members of the staffs, former students and undergraduates, had been on active service. Of these over 400 were members of the staffs and 7,000 on the undergraduate register. There are nearly 1,800 names on the Rolls of the Fallen. What this means may be inferred from the estimate that of the 14,000 in attendance in all the Canadian universities before the war not more than 10,000 were men. As the war proceeded the attendance upon the faculties fell so rapidly that several universities report that few physically fit men were left except those under age in the first year. As might be expected there was a marked difference between the faculties. Applied Science suffered most. In one of the Eastern universities, for example, the attendance in this faculty in 1918-19 was smaller

by 80 per cent. that at the opening of the war. In the same university the registration of men students in Arts fell by 70 per cent. The faculty of Medicine maintained a higher average, because after the first winter the military authorities were unwilling to recruit as combatants students from the last two years; and, as the war lengthened and in view of the urgent need that would arise if it were protracted, even less pressure was put upon the earlier years to enlist. So great was the demand for medical officers that several universities held summer sessions in 1916 and 1917 in order that from the graduating years a supply of trained men for active service might be made available as soon as was consistent with efficiency.

One inconvenient result for the universities arising out of these activities is that they have found themselves involved in financial difficulties. In some instances the income from fees was reduced by 50 per cent. with but a small corresponding diminution in the cost of maintenance, because the reduction in staff was relatively not great, and the working expenses as made up of wages, materials for the upkeep of buildings, fuel and laboratory supplies had advanced greatly in price. Governing bodies, therefore, have realized that the very wholeheartedness of their patriotic effort has presented them with urgent and serious financial

problems. Probably no other institutions in the country have paid so dearly for their patriotism.

To enlarge somewhat more fully upon these activities. At the beginning of the war the Canadian Officers' Training Corps was organized in most of the universities under the leadership of members of the staffs, who either had former military experience, or who in August and September began to prepare themselves for instructing students as soon as possible after the opening of the session. Large numbers of undergraduates soon joined the corps and began to train on the university grounds without uniforms or rifles. Enlistment in the C.O.T.C. was quite voluntary, but the gravity of the situation and the extraordinary import of the issue were soon grasped by the students. Allowances as to academic standing were made to those who joined and performed the duties with success, except in the professional faculties in which the standards were maintained, though the required attendance was slightly lessened in some cases. By the spring of 1915 many from the C.O.T.C. had either enlisted or were in special training corps. The military authorities showed willingness to co-operate, and soldiers of wide experience advised that, as far as possible, the universities should be made sources of supply for officers, as the intelligence of their members

could as a rule be thus used to the best advantage. This policy resulted in the transfer of many officers from the C.O.T.C. to the Canadian units and also in a steady stream of efficient men who were sent to take commissions in the British armies.

It soon became evident that the C.O.T.C. could not meet all the military requirements. Some students either did not wish or were not qualified for commissions at once, and would do their best work first in the ranks. To provide an agreeable companionship for these men two opportunities were offered, first in the East and later in the West. A university company was established to reinforce the famous Princess Patricia Regiment, the members being drawn from many of the universities and recruited on the McGill grounds at Montreal. Six such companies in all were formed containing besides university men others who wished to be associated with them. The record of these companies heightened the already fine reputation of one of the best-known Canadian regiments. Later, in the West, the 196th Western Regiment was established to afford similar opportunities within a more uniform circle.

Infantry did not make a powerful appeal to many. Artillery became rapidly a more popular branch of the service, and batteries were formed within the universities, which were sent across as

units or served as permanent depots from which drafts were constantly made as they were ready. Other branches such as the cyclists, signallers and the flying corps received their quota of students.

Most important services were rendered by many members of the universities' staffs in the military schools of instruction—infantry, musketry, signalling. Accustomed to teaching, they were able to apply to military affairs the aptitude which they had acquired by experience, and many who were unable to go on active service fulfilled their patriotic duty in this way.

Through the faculties of Medicine also the universities played a large part, not only in training officers for units at the front, but in maintaining ambulances and hospitals manned by university teachers and graduates. Well managed though the Canadian hospitals were on the whole during the war, the university hospitals held a unique position, because their personnel was chosen with a special purpose, and consisting of fellow-graduates trained in the same methods of hospital practice and with the best scientific equipment, their staffs were animated by a common loyalty to their university, and were no less faithful to their country, for which they made heavy personal sacrifices. Six Canadian university hospitals were sent away. Of these three were large General

Hospitals officered from the teaching staffs and graduates of McGill, Toronto and Queen's, and stationed respectively for a time at Boulogne, Salonica and Etaples. Stationary hospitals similarly officered were sent by Dalhousie, Laval and the Western (London, Ont.) Universities and were stationed in France. The Medical College of Manitoba University raised a Casualty Clearing Station and a Field Ambulance. These hospitals were maintained by the Dominion Government on the same basis as all other hospitals, but over and above this they were all equipped and handsomely supported by their friends and the graduates of the respective universities with extra supplies for the patients, instruments, scientific apparatus, motor-trucks and ambulances. Strong committees of ladies, working either independently or in conjunction with the Red Cross, kept the supplies up to the requirements.

On the field of the war medicine and surgery have won great victories through the many scientific investigators who served at the front. The laboratory was carried to the armies. In it the war against death and disease was waged amidst the welter of bloodshed; its victories are being proclaimed now that the din of battle has ceased and their beneficent results will gladden generations to come. At home also the laboratory has done its

part, supplying sera and anti-toxins for typhoid, meningitis, tetanus, the manufacture of which was conducted on a large scale in the Hygiene Laboratory of the University of Toronto.

Wounded or incapacitated soldiers as they returned in great numbers were cared for at first in hospitals under the direction of the Military Hospitals Commission. In the case of those at Kingston, Queen's Medical Faculty became responsible for their oversight in a building which the university set apart for this purpose.

Experiments of a new and interesting character in the way of the re-education of returned soldiers were conducted, also under the auspices of the Military Hospitals Commission and later the Canadian Army Medical Corps, at the University of Toronto. Psychological and medical experts gave special treatment to soldiers who had lost their powers of speech or the control over their limbs. For each case apparatus was devised where necessary, and an individual instructor was assigned. Very gratifying results were obtained, psychology and physiology combining in this work of restoration to provide a new chance and create a new hope in life for many a poor man who had thought himself nothing but a wreck cast upon the pity of a world that forgets all too soon.

The amount of work done in the other laboratories of Canada was relatively much less than in England because so much less responsibility rested upon our Government for the conduct of the various phases of the war, and no advisory scientific committee for military or naval purposes was created in Canada as was the case in Britain. Possibly more might have been attempted, but the research and experiment conducted in the Canadian laboratories for the Imperial authorities and for the manufacturers of munitions, have been sufficient to show that in these laboratories the Dominion possesses potential resources which may be turned to great advantage in the future. Several of the leading Canadian scientists gave their services to the Admiralty and made contributions which were handsomely acknowledged by the naval authorities.

An occasional voice was raised in favour of closing the universities, but it was irresponsible and found little or no echo. University buildings, however, were handed over to the military authorities for all sorts of purposes, for military instruction, as residences for military units, as hospitals; in fact, the universities were in readiness to inconvenience themselves and reduce their wants to the lowest possible requirements in order to put their space at the disposal of the military authorities.

But the structure of laboratories and classrooms is such that the uses to which they can be put are few. Of the housings within the universities not the least interesting was that of the Royal Flying Corps (afterwards known as the Royal Air Force). Large numbers of young Canadians took commissions in the Royal Naval Air Service and the Royal Flying Corps, in which they did excellent work. This country offered an excellent field for this kind of recruiting, and in the winter of 1916-17 a cadet school of instruction, with further training facilities and mechanical equipment, was opened in Toronto by the Home authorities, and it supplied several thousand officers for a branch for which the Canadian seems to have peculiar aptitude.

One of the most thrilling experiences of the war in Canada was the sight of enlisted soldiers wearing the American uniform drilling on the grounds of the University of Toronto side by side with Canadian soldiers of the Imperial Air Force, both taking instruction from British drill-sergeants. The world had moved far when this had become possible and it was the best augury for the future. No more appropriate place could have been chosen for such a significant advance in the friendship and mutual understanding of the English-speaking peoples than the erstwhile playing-fields of a university.

An unexpected but most welcome opportunity for the university man who returned wounded and was unable to resume active service at the fighting line or was on long leave was presented by reason of the entrance of the United States into the war. Repeating the experience of Canada and endeavouring to profit by what we had learned, their universities came to us for officers who might give their students practical training made effective by what they had gone through in real warfare. They got from our officers not only instruction adapted to the new conditions brought about in the war, but also an enthusiasm was created in the mind of the undergraduate, naturally a hero-worshipper, by his intercourse with a college man who had won the right to honour. The widespread and urgent needs of the army of the United States left few officers for purposes of instruction in the universities, which, therefore, turned to Canada for help. Our military authorities co-operated most heartily with the universities in releasing for this duty such returned officers as the universities might recommend as being suitable for this work. Yale, Columbia, and other American institutions were supplied; but not nearly all the requests could be met, as the number of returned officers, who after a short leave were unable to resume their duties at the front and were well enough to have the necessary qualifications,

was smaller than might have been expected. Those, however, who went served to strengthen between the two countries bonds of friendship which we hope have become indissoluble through our united sacrifices for the preservation of similar ideals of civilization.

In another respect the United States made wise use of its universities. Two Boards were appointed by Congress to disseminate right views of the war among the people and to educate them as to the progress of events. One was entitled the Committee on Public Information and the other the National Board of Historical Service. These committees were composed for the most part of members of the universities, who in this way were enabled to use their special gifts for the direct service of their country. In Canada no such effort was organized by the Government, but patriotic leagues were formed to provide speakers for recruiting purposes, who by explaining the meaning of the war to as wide circles as possible stimulated enlistment and created interest in patriotic funds. This work was very successful. In it members of the universities took a large part, and, in addition, the universities themselves arranged courses of lectures on the historical, political, military, and economic aspects of the war which were heard by large audiences in many centres.

The story of the Canadian universities in the war would not be complete without a reference to the educational work that was done, chiefly under the direction of President Tory and other Canadian college teachers, during the last year among the overseas soldiers. It was with the Canadian forces that the plan originated of providing instruction for those on active service which developed into the "Khaki University", and was adopted afterwards by the British, Australian, and American armies. Officially recognized as the Educational Services the "Khaki University" fulfilled a most important function in keeping alive the intellectual interest of thousands of soldiers amidst deadening circumstances, and in saving many a young soldier for a professional career on his return. The effectiveness of the work was reduced by the rapidity with which the troops were brought home, but this was more than compensated for by the advantage it gave to hundreds of being able to enter the special courses which were provided for them in their universities. The work of the classes in the British Army was so valuable that the Right Hon. H. L. Fisher, the Imperial Minister of Education, sees in this institution a permanent and highly significant educational development.

The recent war has given science a new prestige in the eyes of the man in the street. He sees that

the instruments and explosives of modern artillery are the products of science, that the aeroplane and submarine are the creations of scientific genius. The terrible effectiveness of modern warfare as measured by its wreckage of human life and of the fruits of civilization is to be laid to the account of science, though not the spirit which called these instruments into exercise. But by an almost insane paradox science has also snatched the wounded from the jaws of death with unprecedented skill and has warded off the disease which aforetime was as deadly as the bullet. Science itself puts its triumphs at the disposal equally of the man of war or of peace, of him who will use them for the destruction or for the restoration of mankind. It may be expected, therefore, that the military man, even in those countries which will never be "militaristic", will henceforth be a defender of the scientific institutions of his nation, and will advocate the laboratory as a defence against aggression.

Now that the war is won the devastated world is appealing both to the pity and to the energy of the survivors. If science revolutionized war it will also revolutionize the arts of peace, and recover wealth for the impoverished. The economic waste must be repaired by a more rigid application of science to industry. This conviction has laid hold

upon the leaders of the peoples. Britain called her scientists and her most capable and far-seeing men of business to serve upon committees and on bureaus for giving a lead to the industrial and commercial life of the new era, and fruitful results may be anticipated from the precision, thoroughness, imagination, and powers of organization of these men. This movement reached Canada, and the Dominion has its Advisory Council on Scientific and Industrial Research, which consists of some scientific men from the universities and some experienced industrial leaders. Co-operation with the universities will be essential for its success, and that co-operation has already begun. Recognizing that the first step in progress is to secure well-trained investigators, the Council established a series of research fellowships which are held at the universities under the direction of the heads of laboratories. Definite problems will be undertaken not only in the bureaus that may be established, but also in the existing university laboratories. The Council should thus become a means of co-ordinating and economizing the existing scientific opportunities of the country.

In view of the demonstration of the utility of Applied Science it will doubtless be less difficult to persuade the people that universities, which are directly and indirectly of such enormous potential

value to the industrial and economic development of the country, should receive more generous financial support. And, of course, the rapid increase in the expenditure of a modern university is due to the equipment and maintenance of laboratories, especially those of Applied Science. Physical, electrical, and mechanical apparatus is very expensive. In the path of progress lie strewn costly instruments which are soon out of date. New plant involves large outlay; renewals cost heavily; even the supplying of the library with the current scientific periodicals of the world is no small item of expense. In science up-to-dateness is essential for development. This fact must be grasped by the intelligent people, for the future will face them with more insistent demands than ever from the universities. But the years of war have crippled the resources of the universities. Rigid economy has been enforced; expenses have been reduced to a minimum; stocks have run very low. It has been a sufficiently serious task to keep the universities going; impossible to provide equipment which would be adequate apart from war conditions. The scrupulous economy of these war years and the great decrease in the purchasing value of the dollar have left the universities with a new problem. If these minimum war requirements are taken by the public as a possible standard

of efficiency, the latter state of the universities will be much worse than the former. They will need the support of their friends to justify them, as the expenditures rise rapidly, if even the former standards are to be recovered. But those standards must be surpassed if what has been said above about the application of science to industry is to result. There will be insistent demands for the enlargement of the departments for the purposes of research. Appeals will be made for the establishment of new departments as the leaders of industry realize that the laboratories can be made to serve them, and electrical and chemical developments will grow apace. National self-sufficiency likewise will react upon education, and we shall be expected not to remain in dependence upon the intellectual hospitality of other countries for the training of our experts in the sciences and the arts.

An inevitable result of the war will be that we shall have in the next generation an insufficient supply of our own men to do the work of science for the country. The universities have given so prodigally of their best that we shall suffer a lack of highly equipped men. This loss is irreparable. But will it not be compensated for by the enduring possession that will be ours in the rebirth of idealism through the sacrifice of so much of the best? It is as creators of intellectual and moral

idealism that universities fulfil their supreme purpose. The average man may be persuaded to approve the expenditure of vast sums on scientific equipment because he has come to see that science prepares the road for material progress. But such as he can never in this spirit be the true supporters of a great university. The universities perform their noblest function and are of most enduring value to the community as the inspirers of idealism in youth, and as homes for those who will keep brightly burning in the nation the zeal for knowledge and for truth, ever on the alert withal to discover in their students those to whom they may in confidence commit the sacred torch. Idealism gives new life to universities; by its revival they have been rejuvenated through the centuries. The war called forth once again heroic idealism in the youth who saw the truth in the conflict and were obedient to it even unto death; and in this magnificent inspiration the universities of Canada will renew their strength.

VIII

FROM 1776 TO 1914, A CHAPTER IN POLITICAL EXPANSION

THE subject might also be entitled "A Contrast in British Colonial Action", though the title would be open to criticism, for the word "colony" is not now applied to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa. They are "the overseas Dominions", and this fact proves that during the period which has elapsed since the American Revolution British Imperial Policy has been transformed. Though for some years the use of the word "colony" as applied to these countries has been almost obsolete, the significance of the new policy of the British Empire was not realized by the world until the consentient action of the self-governing dominions in August, 1914, as well as of India and the dependencies, revealed the vitality and spirit of this multifarious but integrated Commonwealth. Holland was amazed at the action of South Africa, even the United States did not expect such spontaneous and effective co-operation, and of course Germany, whose public men had been comforting their people with assertions as to the incoherence of their rival's vaunted empire, was chagrined. To this day she cannot understand the intervention of Canadians,

Australians, and Boers in a struggle with which in her judgment they should have had no essential concern. Probably she did not fear the material aid which they might bring, for towards everything Anglo-Saxon of military quality she was consistently contemptuous; but the presence in Europe of these sons of Britain from overseas, and of others of almost every race and religion, was an unwelcome proof of a power which she had been unable or unwilling to detect, because according to her own theory empire depended upon a rigid constitution with a central autocratic government, whereas London could not by order summon to her aid or control those far-off dominions. So in the first week of the war one of Germany's greatest delusions as to the basis of world power was shattered.

Even Britain herself was surprised. Ever since the war began she has thankfully admitted that she built better than she knew, and has been profoundly moved by the political and economic efficiency of the Empire, as well as by the confidence in the Motherland that has been manifested by each several portion. It is only partially correct to say that Britain built better than she knew, for most of the building was done by her sons who had left her shores on their own initiative to benefit their fortunes without any help from government. Though the Empire has come into being by an

unpremeditated process, it is to Britain a token of her essential justice that issuing from this home, spring, and source, a spirit has interpenetrated the diverse parts and made them one. The Empire is not run by machinery. It is a body politic.

But what is it that creates the spirit of this Commonwealth? Why is the British Empire greater to-day than it was before the United States seceded? To answer these questions, it is necessary first to answer another. Why did the United States secede one hundred and forty years ago? In many respects Virginia had closer relations with Old England than with New England. The States would not unite even for their own interests. And yet in spite of intercolonial jealousies these communities combined to revolt from the Motherland, and that too under the leadership of Washington, who possessed the best qualities of an English gentleman, and is now regarded by British and Americans as an outstanding representative of the Anglo-Saxon race. Only very radical causes could have created a union for revolt out of such discordant States, especially as their action would not at that time seem to have been worldly-wise.

Of course no single motive is sufficient to explain this break from Great Britain. The character of the immigration, both the original and the later, was always a factor that produced dissidence

from the ruling classes in England. The Puritan fathers of the northern colonists flung away from England under persecution, and doubtless their descendants had little sympathy with their overseas kinsfolk; a large and more recent immigration from Scotland and Ireland had brought with them the memory of grievances which persisted and caused them to harbour dislike for England as she was then governed. Moreover, the colonies had been losing their pure English quality as streams of German and Huguenot settlers had poured into new lands. Diverse though these elements were, soon a common system of education produced a type of average man different from the Englishman; and as time went on the American fashioned for himself powers of government and a political system unlike that which existed in England. Though the institutions within the several States did not resemble the British Parliament with its responsible government they gave rise to independence and self-reliance. There was no class in the Motherland which quite corresponded to the American colonist; those who governed England belonged to an order which for the most part could not understand him. It is not a matter for surprise that these peoples separated by the ocean, environment and social customs were time and again at cross-purposes, but unfortunately it too often

happened that tactless governors or stiff officials took no pains to comprehend and alleviate complaints, which when mishandled turned into grievances.

The people, however, would have been content to remain as they were in the enjoyment of the privileges of their several States and sharing in the proud history of England without a thought of national independence, had it not been that the colonial policy of England at that time was in itself an alienating factor. The relations between England and her colonies were not what they ought to have been chiefly by reason of the illiberal ruling principle then in vogue, that the colonies were retained mainly for the commercial interest of the Mother-country. The outcome of this principle was that if the local assemblies passed any legislation which might interfere with her trade, Parliament or the King would immediately veto it. England did not follow her sons with enough generous regard, nor did she expect loyalty from them as from members of a family. "Colonies were not looked upon as homes for a surplus population simply because England was not overpopulated. Hence emigration was not encouraged and there was no surer way to condemn a colony than to show that it tended to diminish the population of the Mother-country. Colonies were

esteemed in the main solely for commercial purposes" (Beer). This selfish and material view of the mutual relations prevailed on both sides of the ocean; indeed it was so strong in the colonies that during the French war, which the English were waging partly it is true on their own behalf but mainly for the benefit of the Americans, an illicit trade of such proportions sprang up between them and the enemy that the British generals often found themselves worse supplied with food than the French were, the war was thereby prolonged, and a root of bitterness was planted which continued to produce trouble. It was only natural that the English administration were amazed when the Americans gave them little support in arms and refused to take a share in the financial burden of a war, which they had made more expensive to the British taxpayer through their own illegitimate aid and comfort to the enemy. This was the deplorable result of commercialism.

But the Revolution would not have succeeded had the total grievances been a matter of trade. The interests of the colonies were too divergent to make that possible. Commercialism, however, challenged a principle which became clearer the longer it was challenged, and unfortunately in the northern colonies there was no inherited sympathy with the Motherland to counsel patience with

obstinate officials and endurance, until a party more friendly with them might succeed to power in England and redress their wrongs; though even Virginia took fire once the principle of civil liberty was struck hard. On being taxed by the British Parliament the colonies felt that if they submitted they would be guilty of renouncing their freedom. The question at issue was one of political status, the right not to be taxed without representation which they believed was the supreme privilege of Englishmen and was the touchstone of political liberty. "In nearly every respect (the Colonists) governed themselves under the shadow of the British dominion with a liberty which was hardly equalled in any other portion of the civilized globe. Political power was incomparably less corrupt than at home, and real constitutional liberty was flourishing in the English Colonies when nearly all European countries and all other Colonies were despotically governed" (Lecky). It was not a matter of the amount of money involved in the taxing; that was trivial indeed in comparison with the cost of a war, and to have shed blood for the aggregate value of the taxes would have been a crime of the first order from which a man like Washington would have shrunk in horror. Acton has remarked in one of his letters which have been recently published: "No dogma in politics is more

certain than this: Liberty was at the point of death in 1773, and it was America that gave it life. . . . The problem presented by the Americans was at bottom this—Should the existence of one's country, one's family be risked, one's fortune be ruined and one's children exposed to death, blood be shed in floods, all that be renounced which has been established by authority and sanctified by custom for an idea which is nowhere written down, which is purely idealistic, speculative and new, in contradiction with the constitution, which has no religious sanction for itself, nor legal credit, which is unknown to all order and legislators. The affirmative answer is the Revolution, or as we say Liberalism".

Washington, "the Father of his country", was a conservative, who felt that the action of the King, Grenville and North was a breach of law, that they were overturning the foundations of freedom and that the defence of the right was of necessity placed in the keeping of the colonists. This also was Burke's view: "Those who have and who hold to the foundations of common liberty whether on this or on your side of the ocean, we consider as the true and only Englishmen". The leadership of Washington reveals in large part the deepest motive in the Revolution. He belonged to Virginia, was an aristocrat, an Episcopalian, a wealthy slave-owner, without special sympathy for democracy,

and possessing friends in the finest English society. He must have been strongly attached to England, nor was he disturbed by the trade difficulties between the northern Colonies and the Motherland, for he was a great landowner in a State that gladly imported its manufactures from England and sent her tobacco in return. Neither incompatibility nor self-interest could have induced him to break away from England and join hands with democratic and puritan New England which hated Toryism and Episcopacy. Intensity of conviction alone carried him through years of great distress when he had to endure disappointments and disloyalty at the hands of various States and Congress. The winter at Valley Forge tested him to the utmost; again and again he saved the situation by his masterful character and dominating will. But his actions are not to be accounted for by mere stubbornness. He was really in spirit a great Englishman like Pym, Hampden, or Milton, who would take their country into war rather than abandon a principle of liberty, and his principle was similar to that of the English Civil War as stated by Ludlow: "The question in dispute between the King's party and us was, as I apprehended, whether the King should govern as a God by his will, and the nation be governed by force like beasts, or whether the people should be governed

by laws made by themselves and live under a government derived from their own consent".* By the course of events the right of imposing taxation had come to be regarded as the supreme proof of a self-governing community, and until this right had been entrusted to them their status as freemen was not complete.

We turn to the other half of the English-speaking world. The creation of the American Commonwealth of set purpose and with a rigid constitution to which the legislative action of Congress must conform, is quite different from the rise and character of the present British Empire.

When the thirteen colonies revolted England was ruled at home by incompetent politicians and led in the field by feeble generals. It seemed as though she must do the wrong thing on every occasion. It was the Colonists not the British Government who were defending a true principle of genuine English political development.

The years that followed were among the darkest of England's history. Many thought that her day was near its close. Her greatest poet, Wordsworth, read the causes of her trouble in domestic conditions; and yet in the worst moments he never lost hope in her because he knew that the heart of

*Firth, *The Parallel between the English and American Civil Wars*, p. 6.

the people was sound, that in it was a power, a spirit,

whether on the wing
Like the strong wind, or sleeping like the wind
Within its awful caves.

But he scores the leaders, writing many years afterwards in 1810:—

“In the course of the last thirty years we have seen two wars waged against liberty—the American war and the war against the French people in the early stages of their Revolution—and for what belongs more especially to ourselves at this time we may affirm—that the same presumptuous irreverence of the principles of justice, and blank insensibility to the affections of human nature which determined the conduct of our government in these two great wars against liberty, have continued to accompany its exertions in the present struggle for liberty, and have rendered them fruitless” (*Tract on the Convention of Cintra*).

The voices of Chatham, Burke and Wordsworth had their effect. They recalled England to her true self and she began to set her own home in order. Her patriot sons had struck a note which overpowered the lingering discords of the old imperial policy, though it did not become clear and resonant till well on in the nineteenth century. A sense of responsibility for a Commonwealth

greater than that which she lost in the revolt of the American Colonies was making itself felt. A new theory of Empire arose.

During the nineteenth century Britain became democratic, and the process by which the franchise was widened and changes were effected so that expression might be given to the will of the people, has been a large factor in the creation of the new policy of Empire which has almost insensibly displaced the old. Imperialism had been associated for the most part with that side of politics which drew its strength from the families who supplied the great soldiers and sailors, and who assumed that the prestige of expanding dominions was a continuance of the prowess of Elizabethan days. But in truth the Empire is not thus Imperialistic as to origin or character. It is not the result either of premeditated conquest or of set colonizing purpose. It can only be understood by considering the quality of the emigration from Britain and the causes that stimulated it. No ruling idea, or special creed, or practice drove our Canadian forefathers out, as was the case with many of those who went to the United States, nor did they flee from England to a new land in the hope of securing wider freedom. Unlike the New England and the Pennsylvanian emigrations our people did not come to our present home to escape from a condition of

affairs that was oppressive. They parted in goodwill from those whom they left behind with their eye set on the new land where they and their children might better themselves in a worldly way, and often their hearts turned back in affection to their kinsfolk overseas. Even their children continued to talk of Britain as "Home", and when after a generation through the favour of fortune their sons visited the old land, they sought the place of their fathers and the branch of the family still living as the stock in the old soil.

To understand the new Empire it must be borne in mind that on the whole the population of Canada (apart from Quebec), Australia, and New Zealand was until recently fairly homogeneous, and that the incoming peoples were drawn from those classes in Britain which were by degrees receiving the franchise. These circles to whom the power of government was being entrusted were like the average type of person throughout the English-speaking world. In Australia even labour governments have been in power and New Zealand has surpassed all records in social experiment. But Canada was the first to make the endeavour to secure for herself the same privileges as her English and Scotch brothers enjoyed at home, and it was the striking success of this endeavour that has made the new Imperial structure possible. Re-

sponsible government has become a cohesive and vital principle, and Canada has a right to her primacy among the other young nations of the Commonwealth, because within the old provinces of this Dominion that principle was first formulated and established.

Further, the attachment to Britain was strengthened throughout the century by the frequent causes of trouble that arose between the Canadian provinces and the United States, even after the war of 1812, which were sometimes sufficiently serious to endanger the peace. The distinct individuality of the Canadian people cannot be understood unless their relationship towards the United States is taken into account. There never has been any serious trend towards annexation in any of the provinces, and many Americans assuming that there must be have been astonished to discover that their assumption was usually resented by Canadians. Most Americans understood very little about the character of Canada. During the past few years we have heard a great deal as to the part that Canada might play in bringing the United States and Britain together, but until the United States begins to comprehend our national life and history, Canada will not become an efficient interpreter. This fact is all the more surprising because there had been for many years an immense emigra-

tion from Canada into the United States. Ontario sent hundreds of thousands of her best sons and daughters into Ohio, Illinois, the middle West and California; and the Maritime Provinces were at times almost drained into the New England States; but the United States living to herself gave no thought to our difficulties or development, and Canadians were content to have it so. It is only within the last decade that a change became noticeable. Since the opening of the war, however, we have received an attention from our Southern kinsfolk which has been at times almost beyond our deserts, though Canada's future national demands may chill their emotion.

It is not to be supposed that during the first half century that elapsed after the American Revolution the ruling classes in Britain had awakened fully to the promise and potency of the Empire that still was theirs; they feared to extend self-government to the colonists lest they should with the taste of freedom demand separation. Some indeed believed them to be a drag in the wake of the ship of state and would have been willing at any time to cut the painter and let them go. Lord John Russell, who might have been supposed to look with favour on the granting of responsible government, disappointed the hopes of the Canadians, and his action drew forth a remarkable series of

letters from the Hon. Joseph Howe in 1839, from which I take this extract:—

“Can an Englishman, an Irishman or a Scotchman be made to believe, by passing a month upon the sea, that the most stirring periods of his history are but a cheat and a delusion; that the scenes which he has been accustomed to tread with deep emotion are but mementoes of the folly and not, as he once fondly believed, of the wisdom and courage of his ancestors; that the principles of civil liberty, which from childhood he has been taught to cherish and to protect by forms of stringent responsibility must, with the new light breaking in upon him on this side of the Atlantic, be cast aside as a useless incumbrance? No, my Lord, it is madness to suppose that these men, so remarkable for carrying their national characteristics into every part of the world where they penetrate, shall lose the most honourable of them all, merely by passing from one portion of the Empire to another . . . My Lord, my countrymen feel, as they have a right to feel, that the Atlantic, the great highway of communication with their brethren at home, should be no barrier to shut out the civil privileges and political rights, which more than anything else make them proud of the connection; and they feel also that there is nothing in their present position

or their past conduct to warrant such exclusion . . . Many of the original settlers of this province emigrated from the old colonies when they were in a state of rebellion—not because they did not love freedom, but because they loved it under the old banner and the old forms; and many of their descendants have shed their blood on land and sea, to defend the honour of the Crown and the integrity of the Empire. On some of the hardest fought fields of the Peninsula my countrymen died in the front rank with their faces to the foe. The proudest naval trophy of the last American War was brought by a Nova Scotian into the harbour of his native town; and the blood that flowed from Nelson's wound in the cock-pit of the *Victory* mingled with that of a Nova Scotian stripling beside him, struck down in the same glorious fight. Am I not, then, justified, my Lord, in claiming for my countrymen that constitution, which can be withheld from them by no plea but one unworthy of a British statesman—the tyrant's plea of power? I know that I am; and I feel also that this is not the race that can be hoodwinked with sophistry or made to submit to injustice without complaint. All suspicion of disloyalty we cast aside as the product of ignorance or cupidity; we seek for nothing more than British subjects are

entitled to; but we will be contented with nothing less".*

And this constitution the provinces got and kept, thanks to Lord Durham, Lord Sydenham and Lord Elgin. Never has any colony or dominion or dependency had three abler governors, and they became the architects not only of Canada but of the British Empire, which has just been proved to have been built on the most solid foundation, "natural affection, pride in their history, and participation in the benefits of a government combining executive power with individual liberty" (Howe).

Willingness to trust men of her own stock with liberty in the confidence that they would not mishandle such a priceless possession, has been the secret of Britain's success in the latter half of the 19th century as a colonizer and builder up of young nations. And this is a secret which most other nations have not learned and which they hardly realize that we possess. The battle having been fought in Canada was decided once for all, and the Empire was pervaded almost unconsciously by the new idea which created confidence in each part, and drew each to the Mother Country for which they had an antecedent affection.

The Imperial system, however, is not yet complete. We have for years been entrusted with our

*Joseph Howe, *Speeches and Public Letters*, Vol. I. 263.

own fortunes within the Dominion of Canada. We enjoy provincial and dominion autonomy, but what about our relation to the outside world? This is now determined simply by our union with Britain. We cannot escape the dangers that beset her with her world-wide Empire. We know by experience that if she is at war we must be at war too. We would not, it is true, have it otherwise; at least those of us who belong to the English-speaking provinces. But hitherto we have had no voice in foreign policy.* We have not had a representative even at Washington. Nor have we undertaken the obligations of our own protection, though in the recent war indeed we assumed a larger share of our defence than ever before. This condition cannot long remain so; the responsibilities of the future in a world so full of possible troubles are beginning to weigh upon us, and evidently we must enter into fuller partnership with Britain as regards these matters. How that is to be done is the question of the near future. The one essential principle seems to be that in taking a share in Imperial foreign policy we must not become thereby less truly Canadian, but rather complete our nationality in assuming greater obligations. Nothing affects us more than the sacrifice of our own sons. This reaches the very hearths of

*Written before the Peace Conference.

our homeland, and a policy that calls for such sacrifice is the most intimate of all. Therefore we cannot do the full duty of Canadians by living to ourselves within the Dominion; only by realizing the new idea of Empire in common with Britain and the other Dominions can we gain sufficient control even of our domestic destinies.

